





*Alfred Russel Wallace*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY  
OF THE LATE  
SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, BART.,

SOMETIME LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE EASTERN  
PROVINCE OF THE COLONY OF THE  
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

EDITED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,  
THE HONOURABLE C. W. HUTTON, M.E.C.,  
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

WITH A PREFACE BY  
HIS HONOUR S. G. A. SHIPPARD, C.M.G.,  
ADMINISTRATOR OF BRITISH BECHUANALAND, ETC.

"Oh for the touch of a vanished hand,  
Or the sound of a voice that is still!"  
LONGFELLOW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

CAPE TOWN:  
J. C. JUTA AND CO.  
1887.

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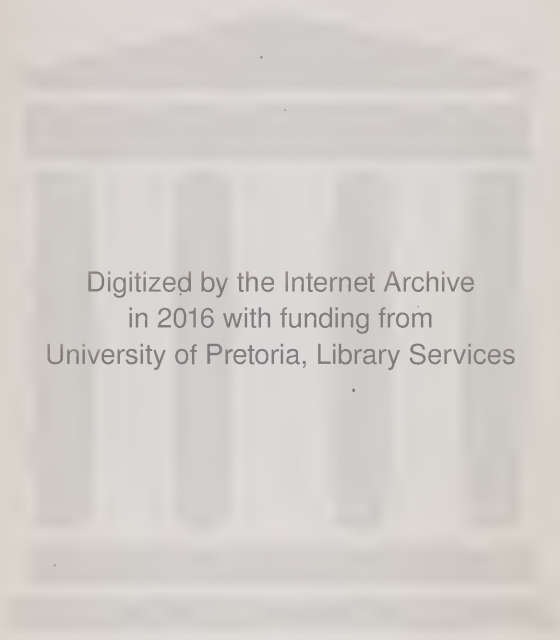
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## NOTE.

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MR. JUSTICE SHIPPARD had intended to edit the work, which is now presented to the public in its present form, and was already preparing for entering upon a task, which he would no doubt have accomplished with an acceptance to which the present Editor cannot for a moment aspire, when he was persuaded by His Excellency the High Commissioner, the Honourable Sir Hercules Robinson, K.C.M.G., P.C., &c. &c., to accept the responsible position of Administrator of the newly-acquired province of British Bechuanaland, and was thereby reluctantly compelled to abandon the work. He has, however, kindly contributed the following Preface.



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## PREFACE.

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I HAVE been honoured with a request that I would write a few lines, by way of preface, to the autobiography of one who has been described, even by unfriendly critics, as the most eminent man South Africa has yet produced. I gladly avail myself of an opportunity of bearing testimony to the lasting value of his labours in the cause of South African progress.

It is perhaps doubtful whether the time has even yet come for a perfectly fair estimate to be made of his character, of the real nature and effect of his work, or of his marvellous influence on the destinies of his native land ; but there can be no question as to the desirability of preserving the memorials of his remarkable career. His autobiography will, I venture to say, prove a valuable contribution to the history of South Africa, apart from the peculiar interest always attaching to the story of a noble and gentle life.

My personal acquaintance with the late Sir Andries Stockenström was limited to the evening of a stormy life, that closed in a prolonged agony of physical suffering, borne with wonderful fortitude and resignation.

In speaking of his public career, I have to rely chiefly

on knowledge acquired from extraneous sources since his death.

The keystone of his policy appears to have been the principle of justice for all men of whatever race. His love of truth for its own sake was, as it were, his guiding star. His public life was a continual protest against oppression and wrong in any shape, a constant struggle for true freedom. He was by nature a fighter. Nothing was more remarkable about him than his entire fearlessness. His indomitable courage, coupled with his natural pugnacity, led him at all periods of his public career into collision with those who differed from him, or pursued objects which he disapproved. That he should have made many enemies can excite no wonder.

On the details of his policy it is not for me to express any opinion. I speak only of the man himself, as one of the noblest champions that ever fought in the cause of humanity. He always defended the weak against the strong. He openly sympathized with the emigrant Boers, because, rightly or wrongly, he considered they had been unfairly dealt with; he strongly advocated the freedom of the Press for South Africa, because he was convinced of its incalculable advantages even at a time when such freedom was thought by many well-meaning persons to be a source of public danger; he successfully fought the battle of Constitutional Government, because he honestly believed it would prove an inestimable boon for South Africa; and all this he did at a time when to espouse such causes was to bring upon himself a host of powerful enemies, and to sacrifice deliberately at the shrine of duty all prospect of gratifying the personal ambition which must have been a strong temptation to a man of his

proud and lofty spirit. It is this voluntary martyrdom, this deliberate sacrifice to the higher law, which constitutes his chief claim to reverence.

Whether he were always right in his reasoning, and in the manner in which he gave effect to his conclusions, may have been questioned by those who sincerely differed from him; but among those who knew him personally there could not be two opinions as to the heroism of his character. In the heat of controversy, in the excitement of battle, he may at times have gone too far, and struck too hard, especially in support of those extreme views which excited so much hostility in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony. He felt deeply, and resented keenly all wrongs suffered by the weak. The cry of the oppressed never appealed to him in vain; but indignation may at times have carried him so far as to have caused him to overlook the rights of the other side. Time alone can enable men to form temperate judgments on such questions; and time that tries all will bring out more and more brightly the noble qualities, the singleness of mind, and above all, the splendid courage of this distinguished soldier and statesman.

Those who even now would most differ from him, must yet acknowledge the greatness of the man himself. He was even as the ideal warrior of the days of chivalry, equally bold and masterful in the field and in the Council Chamber. The wrong he saw he instantly denounced; equally ready with sword, tongue or pen to defend the right, he was at all times the earnest advocate of that deep and broad foundation of truth and justice on which alone national prosperity can be based. The objects he placed before himself were the highest and noblest that statesman or politician

can strive after—the real and lasting good of his country was the aim of his public life; in that great quest he sacrificed himself, and wherever the names of true patriots are revered, his name must be held in undying honour.

S. G. A. SHIPPARD.

MAFEKING,  
BRITISH BECHUANALAND,  
*October 4, 1886.*

## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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THE public life and career of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, covering a period from 1808 to 1856, cannot but be full of interest to all Cape Colonists, and to many outside the Colony, to whom the progress of civilisation in remote corners of the earth, the reclamation from barbarism of teeming myriads of untutored heathen, and the triumph of true civil and religious liberty over despotism and mental and physical thralldom, are objects worthy of pursuit, and sacred duties imposed upon the more highly favoured races of the world.

It is much to be regretted that no complete autobiography was compiled by Sir Andries, and that, in addition to a vast mass of official and private correspondence and papers, he left only certain notes out of which he thought a full record of his life and times might be constructed. These notes were compiled partly in 1856, 1857, and 1858, and partly in 1862, 1863, and under difficulties which he states in the following words, with which the notes of 1856 and following years commence.

“That I have plenty of time on my hands is perfectly true ; but a brief outline of my history requires something more than mere leisure. You know that when I last left the Cape I did not expect to hang together long enough to accomplish the main object, to which I

considered it my duty to devote the closing years of my life; that duty towards my children engrossed my solicitude, and that I was determined to disconnect myself entirely from all further concern in public matters. I consequently left behind all records and data; and when you come so close upon three-score and ten as I have reached, you will not be much disposed to trust to a once very good but now failing memory for so many adventures and facts as a public career from 1808 to 1856 must have furnished; still I think I may be able to indicate many points in the events of that period, which will enable you to refer to more specific and authentic documents, which may either confirm or correct the recollections now merely flitting across my mind; and as I shall not encumber this Memoir with many matters which do not directly or indirectly bear upon the interest of the public, there can be but few statements for the confirmation or refutation of which there will not be traceable official authorities, which we must assume to have been honestly preserved."

The notes of 1862, 1863, commence much in the same strain, and are dated from Nice.

"Here I am once more flying before the jaws of death, lingering on and lasting beyond my expectations, yet so weak in body and mind, that it is quite impossible for me to arrange that mass of papers out of which I at one time hoped and tried to concoct something like an autobiography fit to be submitted to a justly censorious public. However, as I wish my children and their children at least to know something of my career, when the rest of the world shall have forgotten my very name, I intend here to amuse myself by drawing up a brief summary of what may be found in the notes which were



destined to form a book, together with the chaotic mass of manuscript correspondence, official and non-official, left in London and at Maasstrom: for, as I had great doubts whether I should ever reach this place, I brought with me no scrap or memorandum of any kind.

"I am consequently again dependent exclusively on memory; but I have no fear that any part of what I shall here give as a mere guide, or rather as a sort of index to my more extensive composition, will not be found to correspond with the true substance and meaning of what was the product of the mind under less debilitating circumstances; and besides the thorough conviction that no one, whose opinion is of the slightest importance, believes me capable of proclaiming from the brink of the grave what I do not know to be rigid truth, I shall not state—as I have not stated—a single fact for which the most incontestible proofs cannot be found among my papers, and in the official records at the Cape, or in London; it being, moreover, one of the chief objects of my present toil to inform those who, by blood or friendship, or the love of honesty and fair dealing, may become interested in my humble history, when I shall no longer be able to explain my own motives and acts, where documents are to be found which at once scatter to the winds any attempt to throw a doubt on what I advance."

In the pages which follow, the personal narrative contained in the two sets of notes above referred to, and in journals, and various letters, and memoranda, is recorded as nearly as possible as originally written, care being taken to avoid repetitions, and to compile from the various manuscripts one full biography.

The Editor is deeply indebted to Mr. Leibbrandt, the

Custodian of the Archives and Parliamentary Librarian, for a considerable portion of the introductory chapter, prepared expressly for this work ; and also desires to acknowledge, with many thanks, the valuable assistance which has been afforded him in his constant reference to Blue Books and other public records, as also for many valuable suggestions in the arrangement of this work by Mr. Noble, Clerk of the House of Assembly, the able compiler of the official handbook prepared for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and author of 'South Africa, Past and Present.' Nor can he omit the name of Mr. James Fairbairn, Clerk to the Legislative Council, who placed his private library, containing some papers of great value, at his disposal.

RONDEBOSCH,  
*October, 1886.*

# CONTENTS.



## CHAPTER I.

1744-1806.

	PAGE
Early History by the Custodian of the Archives—Extracts from G. M. Theal's 'Chronicles of Cape Commanders'—Quotations from 'Burchell's Travels'—Arrival of the elder Stockenstrom in Graaff Reinet . . . . .	I

## CHAPTER II:

1792-1810.

Birth—Childhood—Education—Tot nut van 't Algemeen—Leaves School—Journey to Graaff Reinet—Meets Col. Collins—Village of Graaff Reinet—Col. Collins reaches Graaff Reinet—Young Stockenstrom joins Col. Collins—Locusts and Trek-bokken—Bushmen—Boundary of Colony—Bushman kraals—Enquiries after Dr. Cowan and Lieutenant Donovan—Caledon River—Sources of Orange River—Kraai River—Mineral Springs—Schaap Kraal—Elder Stockenstrom joins party—Klip Plaat River—Kabousie—White Kei—Extent of Bushman Country—Vacant hunting-grounds—Transkei—Hintza—Two White Men Recross Kei—Buffalo River—Keiskamma—Boundaries of Kaffraria—Struggle between Gaika and Hlambie—Occupation of Zuurveld—Boschberg—Hlambie—Uitenhage—Coal and Copper—Port Elizabeth . . . . .	28
--	----

## CHAPTER III.

1810-1812.

Both Stockenstroms visit Cape Town—Claim of Kaffirs to Zuurveld—Col. Collins at Stellenbosch—Discuss future of Stockenstrom junior—Returned to Graaff Reinet as Clerk and Postmaster—	
---	--

Mission to Hlambe upon claim to Zuurveld—Lost in Bush ; found by Kaffir—Major Lyster reaches Graaff Reinet—Success of Mission—Goes to Karroo—Lord Caledon—Gazetted Ensign —Letter to Col. Collins and reply—Sir John Cradock—Sent with Col. Graham to Frontier—Plan of Campaign—Murder of Elder Stockenstrom—Death of Conga—Operations against Kaffirs—Headquarters at Graham's Town—Appointed Deputy- Landdrost of Graaff Reinet . . . . .	50
--	----

## CHAPTER IV.

1811-1812.

Elder Stockenstrom—Absence of Monument—Purchase of spot in Zuurberg—Popularity—Government notice of death of elder Stockenstrom—Colonel Graham's letter to Widow—Death of C. J. Ryneveld—Pringle's narrative—Letter from Sir John Cradock and instructions to Deputy-Landdrost . . . . .	66
--	----

## CHAPTER V.

1813-1816.

Reception at Graaff Reinet—Landdrost Fischer—Schools—Quit-rent tenure—Col. Vickers—Expedition to Kaffraria, 1813—Gullibility of Boers—Cradock established—Governor visits Graaff Reinet —Death of A. du Toit—Gazetted Lieutenant, 1814—Lord C. Somerset—Gazetted Landdrost of Graaff Reinet—Welcomed by Heemraden—Rebellion of Bezuidenhout—Hendrik Prinsloo— Tragic finale—Murder of Hottentot by Boer—Murderer executed —Van der Graaff's story of Stockenstrom's bearding the Rebels . . . . .	78
--	----

## CHAPTER VI.

1817.

Lord C. Somerset visits Frontier, 1817—Expedition to Gaika—Patrol or reprisal system—Commando system—Example of Lourens Erasmus—Langa Shot—Cause of D'Urban War—Glenelg system—Missionary Williams—Governor visits Boschberg and Graaff Reinet—Interviews Boers—Instructs Landdrost to secure grant of land—Libertas selected—Grant to Widow Stockenstrom —Placed on half-pay—Libertas not granted—Libertas purchased —Klip Kraal and Naudé's Hoek purchased—Visits Cape Town —Entertained at Newlands—Frontier alarm—Return to Frontier . . . . .	98
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

1818—1820.

	PAGE
1818. War between Hintza and Gaika—Government sides with Gaika—Burgher Commando—Lions captured—Drostdy at Beaufort—Kaffirs invade Zuurveld—Meintjes sent to Cape Town—Col. Willshire—Attack on Graham's Town—Large Burgher Force—Names of Commandants—Dr. Knox—Campaign—Makanna surrenders—Interview with Hintza—Character of Cape Dutch—Governor visits Graaff Reinet—Cape Corps reduced—Neutral Territory—Interview with Governor—Reconstruction of Cape Corps—Gazetted Captain—Captain Henry Somerset—British Settlers—Difficulty in locating them—Anger of Lord C. Somerset—Col. Bird—Governor speaks kindly—O. G. Stockenstrom—Duel—Court of Enquiry—Major Frazer—Exchange to Corsican Rangers—Ill-treatment . . . . .	115

CHAPTER VIII.

1819—1820.

Correspondence with Col. Bird and Lord C. Somerset during 1819, 1820—Further details of War—Willshire's campaign . . . . .	140
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

1820—1821.

Lord C. Somerset goes to England—Sir R. Donkin acting—His Frontier Policy—Interview with Gaika—British Settlers—Scotch Party under Thomas Pringle—Sir R. Donkin assigns to Stockenstrom grant of land on Bavians River—Grants of land for Capt. Cameron and others—Grant for Col. Graham-Lyndock—Maasström—Mission beyond Orange River—Liberation of Prisoners—Landdrost visits Glen Lynden—Sir R. Donkin visits Graaff Reinet— <i>Feu de joie</i> on departure—Stockenstrom accompanies Governor to Cape Town—Project to seize the Griquas—Report of visit to Latakoo—Griqua Town—Bootchooanas—Conraad Buis—Bushmen—Melvill . . . . .	167
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

1821—1822.

Return of Lord C. Somerset—Upsets all that Donkin had done—First attack on Stockenstrom, and his defence—Judge Buissinné Bentinck—Visit of Thomas Pringle—Governor assists cause of Education—Rev. A. Smith—Dr. Innes—Rev. A. Murray—Dr.	
--	--

	PAGE
Robertson—Pringle—Fame—Fairbairn—Governor assists Agricultural Society—Merino Sheep—Public Library—Daniel Mills—Hougham Hudson—George Thompson . . . . .	192

## CHAPTER XI.

1823-1826.

Commissioners of Enquiry—Hostility of Dr. Philip—Lieut. Bonamy surveys Boundary—Boundary between Graaff Reinet and Albany—Commissioners at Graaff Reinet—Toorn Berg—Northern Border—Griquas—Bergenaars—Bushmen—Landdrost accused of trading with Bushmen Children—Amusing Story—Grants of Land to Landdrost—District Accounts scrutinised—Landdrosts farming Establishments—Pompey—Accident to Mr. Bigge—Amusing Complaints—Further details—Boundary of Colony—Description of Country—Condition of Bushmen—Corannas—Pursuit of Robbers—Difference in Condition of Bushmen and Kaffirs—Rev. A Murray—Anecdote—Black-faced ewe . . . . .	209
--	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

1826.

Death of Secretary Muller—Sir R. Plasket—High-handed proceedings of Governor—Makomo reoccupies Kat River—Attempt to seize Gaika—Col. Somerset attacks Gaika—Working of reprisal system—Landdrost expresses his views on Frontier Policy—Colonel Somerset Commandant of Kaffraria—Governor visits Frontier—Disapproves of grant of Maasström—Establishes Somerset Town and District—Avoids Graaff Reinet—Returns to Cape Town—Plasket visits Graaff Reinet—Discussion with Plasket on Governor's ill-treatment—Visit of Rev. W. Wright, Dr. Philip, and Thos. Pringle—Discussions with these men—Stockenstrom explains his principles of dealing with Natives—Summoned to Cape Town—Alteration of form of Government—Heemraden abolished—Ball at Plasket's—Plasket dissatisfied—Shameful expedition into Kaffraria—Reprisal system—Letters of Pringle and Huntley—General Bourke visits Graaff Reinet—First public meeting for abolition of Slavery—Correspondence with Government—Philanthropic Society . . . . .	236
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

1827-1828.

General Bourke—Office of Commissioner-General created—Stockenstrom appointed—Plasket Resigns—Street in Graaff Reinet named after him—Water Distribution—Leaves Graaff Reinet—	
---	--

Addresses—Regrets—Testimonial—W. C. van Ryneveld—Seat in Legislative Council—Names of Members of Legislative Council—Massacre at the Umtata—Never enquired into—Conflict of Civil with Military Authorities—Condition of Hottentots in 1797—Lord Caledon's Proclamation, 1809—50th Ordinance—1st Circuit as Commissioner-General—Working of new system—Possession of Kat River by Makomo—Why permitted—Causes of D'Urban War—Dealings with Makomo—Departure of General Bourke—Cordiality between General Bourke and Stockenstrom—Sir L. Cole—Colonel Bell—Makomo attacks Tambookies—Expulsion determined on . . . . .	267
---	-----

# CHAPTER XIV.

1828–1829.

State of Frontier at this time, 1828—Important Despatches—Expulsion of Makomo . . . . .	300
---	-----

# CHAPTER XV.

1828–1829.

Instructions to Commissioner-General—Recapitulation of Early Border History—Commissioner-General's Plan of Defence of Frontier—Memorandum on Frontier Policy—Reprisal System—Full details of—Consequences of . . . . .	324
--	-----

# CHAPTER XVI.

1828–1829.

1828–1829. Marriage—Removal to Uitenhage—Frontier alarm—Groundless—Report thereon—Further Report—Sir L. Cole visits Frontier—Inspects Kat River—Plan for settlement of Ceded Territory—Defence of Frontier—Reduction of Military Force—Cathcart System compared—Outcry of Frontier Party—Order to suspend Location beyond Kat River—Departure of Sir L. Cole—His System upset—Short mention of subsequent Dealings with Kat River . . . . .	352
---	-----

# CHAPTER XVII.

1830.

1830. State of affairs beyond Orange River—Collision of Boers with Griquas—Boers ordered to return to Colony—Commissioner-General's Report, March, 1830—Further Report, August—Condition of Griquas—Bootchooanas, Bushmen, Corannas—Horrible	
--	--

	PAGE
Massacres—Hostility of Dr. Philip—Boers complain of want of sympathy—Of Abolition of Heemraden—Pioneering—Causes of Boer Exodus . . . . .	373

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1830-1831.

1830. Commando into Kaffraria—Commissioner-General's Report on Expedition—Murder of Zekoe—Enquiry into same—Commissioner-General visits Chumie—Meets Chiefs—Tjalie complains of Cattle being taken—Makomo complains of Kaffir being shot—Chiefs complain of Colonists leaving Stock unguarded and Cattle of innocent Kaffirs being taken—Proceeds to Kat River—Botman complains of seizure of his Cattle—Outrage by Wynand Bezuidenhout—Commissioner-General, finding himself powerless, determines to resign—Water trial, Graaff Reinet—Judge Menzies visits Kaga and Kat River—Kindness of Sir L. Cole—Menzies and the Theron case—Hostility of Menzies—Menzies and Sir John Wylde—Pamphlet—Collision with Pringle—Church at Kaga—Adelaide—Road through Hottentots' Holland Kloof—Road over French Hock . . . . .	393
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIX.

1831-1834.

Commissioner-General visits Cape Town—Messrs. Hart and Onkruid prevent Boers from attacking Hottentots—Feelings towards Governor—Disgust with Administration—Leaves Colony—Voyage in the <i>Lord Hungerford</i> —St. Helena—Longwood—Off English coast—Lands at Weymouth—To Southampton—Coves—Ryde—Portsmouth—London—Thomas Pringle—Buxton—Allen—Macaulay—"Will it pay?"—Bible and Missionary—Mock philanthropy—England's dealings with other States—China—Japan—Progress of Emancipation Act through Parliament—General views—Lord Caledon—Leave of absence—Visits Holland—The Rhine—Ulm—Finds Aunt and Cousins—Switzerland—France—Paris—Back to London—Lord Caledon's great kindness and advice—Resigns as Commissioner-General—Retiring allowance—Inadequate—Allowances to others—Friends angry at resignation—Travels <i>via</i> Ostend, Antwerp, Brussels, Cologne, Mannheim, to Stuttgart—Introduced to King—Purchase of Saxon sheep—Joseph Beck—Further travels—Salzburg—Vienna—Schonbrunn—Hungary—Pesth—Buda—Prague—Dresden—Potsdam—Berlin—Starts with family for Sweden—Stockholm—Travels in Finland—Norway—Russia—St. Petersburg . . . . .	416
--	-----





	PAGE
Massacres—Hostility of Dr. Philip—Boers complain of want of sympathy—Of Abolition of Heemraden—Pioneering—Causes of Boer Exodus . . . . .	373

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1830-1831.

1830. Commando into Kaffraria—Commissioner-General's Report on Expedition—Murder of Zekoe—Enquiry into same—Commissioner-General visits Chumie—Meets Chiefs—Tjalie complains of Cattle being taken—Makomo complains of Kaffir being shot—Chiefs complain of Colonists leaving Stock unguarded and Cattle of innocent Kaffirs being taken—Proceeds to Kat River—Botman complains of seizure of his Cattle—Outrage by Wynand Bezuidenhout—Commissioner-General, finding himself powerless, determines to resign—Water trial, Graaff Reinet—Judge Menzies visits Kaga and Kat River—Kindness of Sir L. Cole—Menzies and the Theron case—Hostility of Menzies—Menzies and Sir John Wylde—Pamphlet—Collision with Pringle—Church at Kaga—Adelaide—Road through Hottentots' Holland Kloof—Road over French Hock . . . . .	393
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIX.

1831-1834.

Commissioner-General visits Cape Town—Messrs. Hart and Onkruid prevent Boers from attacking Hottentots—Feelings towards Governor—Disgust with Administration—Leaves Colony—Voyage in the <i>Lord Hungerford</i> —St. Helena—Longwood—Off English coast—Lands at Weymouth—To Southampton—Coves—Ryde—Portsmouth—London—Thomas Pringle—Buxton—Allen—Macaulay—"Will it pay?"—Bible and Missionary—Mock philanthropy—England's dealings with other States—China—Japan—Progress of Emancipation Act through Parliament—General views—Lord Caledon—Leave of absence—Visits Holland—The Rhine—Ulm—Finds Aunt and Cousins—Switzerland—France—Paris—Back to London—Lord Caledon's great kindness and advice—Resigns as Commissioner-General—Retiring allowance—Inadequate—Allowances to others—Friends angry at resignation—Travels <i>via</i> Ostend, Antwerp, Brussels, Cologne, Mannheim, to Stuttgart—Introduced to King—Purchase of Saxon sheep—Joseph Beck—Further travels—Salzburg—Vienna—Schonbrunn—Hungary—Pesth—Buda—Prague—Dresden—Potsdam—Berlin—Starts with family for Sweden—Stockholm—Travels in Finland—Norway—Russia—St. Petersburg . . . . .	416
--	-----

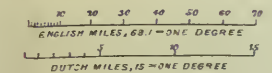




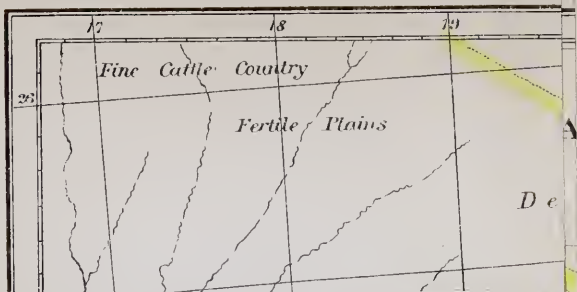
# CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

BY J. ARROWSMITH.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY  
OF THE LATE  
SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, BART.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

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- Page 118, line 17, *for* "Retorius" *read* "Pretorius."  
,, 136, ,, 15, *for* "dwelling" *read* "duelling."  
,, 196, last line, insert "I" after "felt."  
,, 296, line 17, *for* "I return" *read* "you return."  
,, 228, ,, 15, *for* "Philippdlis" *read* "Philippolis."  
,, 232, ,, 24, *for* "have been" *read* "had been."  
,, 408, ,, 20, *for* "tow" *read* "town."

and the opening years of the present ; and in order to do this with accuracy the writer has availed himself of the very valuable services of the Rev. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Keeper of the Archives, and Parliamentary Librarian, who at great personal inconvenience, in the midst of other arduous duties, has kindly supplied the following memorandum :—

"In order to comply with the wish of the writer of this biography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, to furnish him with a brief sketch of the most important events in the history of the Drostdy of Graaff Reinet previous to the appointment of the subject of his memoir to the office of Landdrost of this important midland

town and district, I find it impossible, with the limited space at my command, to do more than supply a bare list of facts in order to enable the reader to take a rapid glance at the salient points in a most important portion of the History of South Africa, which certainly cannot be written in a few pages.

“The land journey undertaken by Governor Joachim van Plettenberg convinced him that the residents in the Camdeboo, who had asked for the establishment of a magistracy in their midst, had made out a strong case in their memorial, presented to the Council in 1778, that for religious and civil purposes they were too far from the church, and the Drostdies of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, and that whenever they were obliged to leave their homes for business, or to attend the annual parade day, their wives and families were exposed to the Bushmen depredations ; that there were also roaming about the country, in their midst a number of worthless Europeans, whose conduct tended to create most serious misunderstandings and consequent ill-feeling between the whites and the natives ; that a church more accessible to them would enable them to have their children baptised and educated ; that they were ready to subscribe for the necessary buildings, and only requested the Company to supply them with mechanics ; that the Karroo was a most dreary waste ; that the Camdeboo lying beyond it was the only outlet for the surplus population of the Colony, which was so rapidly increasing ; and that by the rearing of cattle, and the making of butter, the people resident in that distant territory would be able to find a living, and at the same time benefit the Company ; that, however, the Bushmen depredations were so excessive that the residents had been compelled to abandon their farms ; that the marauders

had infested the Bamboesbergen, and that it was of the utmost consequence to drive them out of their haunts.

"A statement so grave and true could have but one effect. Not only were commandos called out, which acted with more or less success, but the Council likewise decided to transmit the Camdeboo memorial to the Lords seventeen, to support it in the strongest terms possible, and to appoint field-commandants in the northern and eastern part of the far-distant country, who, in cases of emergency, and after having received proper authority for the purpose, were to call out the men in their different wards, and keep the country clear and safe.

"Nothing, however, could at that time be expected from the Netherlands, which were divided by internal dissensions, fast drifting into a war with England, and at the same time accelerating the collapse of the East India Company, already at its last gasp.

"It is therefore not surprising that only about three years after the peace had been concluded, and Governor Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff had succeeded van Plattenberg, decisive steps were taken (Aug. 1786) to establish the magistracy so long asked for in vain.

"Besides the Bushmen, the white settlers had in 1780 encountered another and even more dangerous enemy in the Kaffirs, whose cattle thefts had compelled the Government to call out more commandos, which compelled the marauders to submit to the conditions of the treaties of 1781-82.

"Matters, however, had before this already taken such a serious turn that the people, left to their own resources, and without a head to guide and protect them, imperceptibly drifted into a condition of virtual political independence, and a republican form of government.

“But the Drostdy having become a fact, the people at once gladly accepted the magistrate sent to them, and in every sense conducted themselves like a loyal and orderly community. Being poor they could only erect homely buildings for religious and secular purposes ; but they did what they could, and the new district having, according to Dutch usage, been established on the principles of local self-government, it had its separate treasury with funds emanating from ‘op-gaf’ moneys, and other minor sources of revenue. It had its military laws and burgher discipline, its commandants and assistant commandants, its field-serjeants, corporals, and other officers for the performance of such military and burgher duty as were required, and for keeping together the scattered links of the community in the vast district, and preventing the people having any intercourse with the Kaffirs beyond the Fish River. I merely mention here the extreme poverty of the residents, who were continually robbed of their cattle, and the natural result, the destitute condition of the district’s treasury—a misfortune which it had in common with that of Swellendam, and which caused the Government no little anxiety, for no quit-rent could be paid, and no taxes levied.

“The following picture will give some idea of the state of affairs. When Governor van Plattenberg had concluded his treaty with the Kaffirs, and when after the ruptures of 1781–82 it was endeavoured to uphold it by means of very severe placaten, the Heemraden of Graaff Reinet at their first meeting feared the result if one of the Articles were carried out, viz., that the Landdrost should at stated intervals cross the Fish River and barter what was required for the Company and the public. They said that large quantities of cattle had been taken by the Kaffirs from the people ; that numbers



were still in possession of the natives, and should the Landdrost barter any of them and bring them across, they would be claimed by their owners, most of whom had been perfectly innocent of any act of aggression ; that there were many whites who were determined to open a cattle trade with the Kaffirs, and that some might even go so far as violently to deprive the latter of their property ; that this might cause a fresh rising of the natives against the whites ; and that accordingly it would for the present be far better to invite the people to pay their Government dues in cattle, as there was enough for the purpose, and more than the Company required.

“But all these precautionary measures were of no avail ; the Kaffirs would not retire beyond the Fish River, and the prohibition of intercourse between them and the whites naturally became a dead letter. Take the following case :—

“In 1799 Landdrost Bresler and a few others proceeded, as a commission, to the Chief Chakka, to urge upon him, upon Conga and others, to retire in accordance with the treaty of 1781–82 made with the Chiefs Maroatta and others ; but their efforts were unavailing, the commission could obtain no interview with the Chiefs, and although the representatives of the latter acknowledged that the land in question belonged to the Company, they submitted that they could not do without it, and offered to pay for it on the same terms as the whites did for their farms.

“It likewise became evident to the Commission, not only from a letter written by old Lindaque to his son, Barend, but also from the reports of the ex-Secretary Wagenar, whom the Landdrost had left behind to watch events, that not only was there something brewing among the Kaffirs, who were already preparing to attack

the whites, but that for a time they had abandoned their purpose, because the whites, as advised by Wagenar, had banded together for defensive purposes—a measure which caused a panic among the Kaffirs, and their retreat beyond the Fish River, even into the depths of the forests. It was only, however, when Maynier had been appointed Landdrost that the worst troubles of the unfortunate settlers commenced. Having previously filled the office of Secretary of Graaff Reinet, he had not succeeded in gaining the respect or good feeling of many of the people, or the board. The Field-Commandant, Adrian van Jaarsveld, and the Heemraden, A. P. Burger and D. de Villiers, especially disliked him, and refused to sit under him, because, as the latter expressed it, he had been publicly charged with the commission of the gravest offences.

“Nor did he endeavour to remove, as far as was within his power, the ill-feeling that existed by showing some sympathy at least with the people whose destinies he had been called upon to guide, notwithstanding that the Kaffirs had crossed the river, robbed the farmers, burned the homesteads, and would not desist from their career of rapine and murder; although the commando called out to repel the marauders was found too weak to effect any satisfactory result; although Maynier himself appeared completely incompetent for the task he had assumed of directing the movements of the men under his charge, even, attacking beyond the Fish River a people who had never done any harm to the whites, he stubbornly maintained that the latter alone were to blame for all the troubles that had fallen on the district.

“Nor did the public learn to think more favourably of him, or the Government that had sent him, when the order arrived at Graaff Reinet that all the Bastard Hottentots were to be sent to Cape Town to serve

against the French, with whom the Republic was at war. Maynier was told to go ; for he had brought the suspicion upon himself that the interests of the natives were his first consideration, and that those of the whites were to be sacrificed to them. Nor can the general feeling against him be better expressed than by the question put to him by Lieut. Tregard : ‘ Sir, the letter from the Government states that you have satisfied the Government ; but have you given satisfaction to the public ? ’

“ We can do no more than merely mention the mass meeting at Graaff Reinet on the 6th Feb., 1795, and the appointment of the people’s representatives under the name of ‘ De Volkstem ’ ; the mission of O. G. de Wet, and his attempt to throw oil on the troubled waters ; the respect with which he was listened to, showing that the public feeling was at that time merely against Maynier personally, who was believed to have continuously and persistently furnished the Government with false reports ; the appointment of Landdrost Van der Poel ; the 6th July, 1795, when the people virtually declared themselves independent, and appointed C. D. Gerotz as their Landdrost ; the seizure of the Cape by the English in September, 1795 ; the revulsion of feeling caused at Graaff Reinet in consequence ; the determination of the people to remain faithful to the Fatherland ; the sullen silence with which the letter of His Excellency, Sir J. H. Craig, was received ; and the final decision of the burghers, including a large number of the ‘ Achter-Bruintjes Hoogte ’ ward, to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty of Great Britain, and by the Governor to send them a magistrate ; the orderly manner in which the people again conducted themselves ; the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden ; the arrival of Landdrost Bresler in 1797 ; the respect with which he

was welcomed ; the Government thanks expressed by letter to Gerotz for his services, and His Excellency's approval of everything done by him ; the renewed but fruitless attempt of the Landdrost, already referred to, to persuade the Kaffirs to retire beyond the river ; the messages for the Chiefs, entrusted to Captain J. du Plessis and Field-Commandant H. Jansen van Rensburg ; the insolent reply of Conga ; the continual thefts of cattle and murders of the whites committed by both Bushmen and Kaffirs ; the attempt made by those of Hantam and Boggeveld to furnish the Bushmen with breeding stock ; the decision to do so likewise in the case of the tribes located in other portions of the immense district ; the partial and merely temporary success of this measure ; the unwillingness of the Landdrost to believe that such large numbers of cattle had been stolen, and stolen by Kaffirs ; the results of an enquiry showing that these thefts had been committed ; the suspicion which was gradually but surely developing among the people that Bresler was treading in the footsteps of Maynier ; the seizure in Cape Town for debt of some of the burghers, who had been pardoned by the English Government, and the belief that assurance of pardon had been merely a pretext for their more convenient capture ; the seizure of Veld-Commandant A. van Jaarsveld for forgery, said to have been committed by him on the Orphan Chamber ; his rescue by 30 armed burghers on the road to Cape Town, and return to Graaff Reinet ; his liberation on bail ; and, finally, the unfortunate letter of the Landdrost to Field-Commandant H. J. van Rensburg.

"All these are matters of great interest, and if fully told would require a separate volume. I have within the limited space at my command merely been able to

refer to them ; but I cannot refrain from inserting the letter written by Bresler to Commandant Rensburg, dated the 8th December, 1797, to show what terrible results a carelessly written note may produce. It is as follows :—‘ Good friend,—With this you receive 4 tinder-boxes and steels, 8 knives, 1 roll of brass rings, 4 bundles of beads, and 12 pocket-mirrors ; likewise 30 lbs. of powder and 60 lbs. of lead. Please give to Malow and Tholic (Kaffir chiefs) each a knife and 2 mirrors, and the rest to Conga (Kaffir chief), &c. (Signed) BRESLER.’

“ This letter had fallen into the hands of the people, and, in spite of Bresler’s explanations, they could not be dissuaded from the idea that he was hand in glove with their oppressors. They believed it, and plainly told him that he had provided the Kaffirs with powder and lead in order to enable them to massacre the whites, and that under these circumstances he need not be surprised that they were banding together for personal safety. Nor did the Landdrost mend matters by telling them, ‘ that in all cases it was the business of the Government to adopt the gentlest and most humane course with a nation like the Kaffirs.’ This but added fuel to the fire ; and whatever confidence the Landdrost might have previously commanded, this last statement at once robbed him of every particle of it, and placed him in the eyes of the people in the same light in which they had regarded his predecessor Maynier.

“ At the same time, matters were made worse by the request of the Landdrost, secretly and hurriedly despatched to Cape Town, that troops might be sent to Graaff Reinet at once, ‘ to crush the insolent and disobedient conduct of the people.’ The Governor, entirely destitute of local knowledge, was obliged to depend upon the advice of Barrow, against whose spiteful libels

on the people a high-toned English officer and gentleman, Colonel Collins, felt himself in duty bound most emphatically to protest ; and likewise upon that of Maynier, whose revengeful feeling was displayed in the seizure of A. van Jaarsveld and the other leaders of the Boers.

“I can only give the headings of what followed. The troops came, a mixed company of dragoons, infantry, and Hottentot cavalry, under the command of Brigadier-General van de Leur. A large number of the people laid down their arms, trusting that their grievances would be carefully considered, and protection afforded them. But in vain. The seizure of Van Jaarsveld and his comrades seems to have been the sole result of their pleadings at the time. We are suddenly brought face to face with the Hottentot rebellion ; the interview of Van de Leur with Conga at the Sundays River ; the promise of the latter to proceed towards the east ; his attack on a detachment of the Brigadier whilst on the march from Achter Bruintjes Hoogte to Algoa Bay, and afterwards on the camp near Bushmans River ; the dread of Van de Leur to distribute ammunition among the Boers, as he was afraid that he might by so doing arm the malcontents ; the massacre of Lieut. Chumney and his company on their march to the coast, and the consequent retreat of Van de Leur to Algoa Bay ; the departure thither likewise of General Dundas, destitute, as we have already said, of all local knowledge, and completely at the mercy of Maynier for whatever information he required ; his peace at any price concluded with the Hottentot and Kaffir enemy, and his final departure to Cape Town after having appointed Maynier Commissioner of the district ; the departure of the troops ; the acts of violence immediately afterwards recommended by Conga, Olela and Habana, and the Hottentots, Klaas

Stuurman, Boezak, and others ; the refusal of Maynier to believe what was occurring ; his order that the people should return and re-occupy their farms, if they did not wish to be severely punished ; the complete desolation and abandonment of the country between Achter Buintjes Hoogte and the Zwartkops ; the residence of Maynier at Graaff Reinet in the capacity of Commissioner, protected by a detachment of British soldiers and Hottentots, and finally his recall, and the appointment of a Commission to enquire into his conduct ; the peace of Amiens and the restoration of the Colony to the Netherlands.

“ I have already mentioned that A. van Jaarsveld and his friends had been seized, and sent as prisoners to Cape Town. I may add that they were tried there and condemned to death ; but the Governor, who evidently had no longer any faith in his former councillor, Maynier, would not permit the sentence to be carried out, and decided to surrender the prisoners to the representatives of the Dutch Government, who at once set them at liberty.

“ The terrible result, however, of the course pursued was that the savages, in spite of the so-called peace concluded with them by General Dundas, overran the whole country, burnt the homesteads, murdered the owners, not even excepting helpless travellers on the highway to Cape Town, whilst a portion of Hottentot marauders, under Klaas Stuurman, proceeded in their career of murder and destruction almost to the very doors of the Swellendam Drostdy.

“ When Governor Janssens had entered upon his duties, and was proceeding on his memorable journey towards the interior, he sent for Klaas Stuurman at Algoa Bay and gave him a brass gorget, on which



were engraved the words, 'Klaas Stuurman—Peace and Friendship with the Batavian Republic, 1st March, 1803.' It appeared inconceivable to Colonel Collins that such a course could have been adopted in the case of a man who was a born subject of the Dutch Government, and whose deeds of cruelty baffle description. But the Governor even went further, and gave him a plot of ground on the little Gamtoos River, a few miles from the spot where the gallant Van der Walt had been mortally wounded by this same Stuurman's people—a gift, however, which the recipient did not long enjoy, being killed shortly afterwards by his brother David.

"I can only just mention the futile attempts made by Janssens, after he had induced the Kaffir Chiefs on this side the river to meet him, to persuade them to cross over to the other side: they excused themselves by saying they feared Gaika, and therefore would not go near him; Janssens' interview with the latter Chief, and the satisfactory arrangements which he believed he had made to clear the country; the retirement of Conga, Habana, and others across the Fish River, and their speedy return when they saw that Slambie remained behind unmolested; the establishment of the Drostdy at Uitenhage by Commissioner de Mist; the proclamation of Janssens that the people were to return to their farms; their fruitless efforts twice made to do so, and the immediate recommencement of thefts and murders; the helplessness of the Dutch Government at the Cape in consequence of the war which had again broken out with England; and the re-occupation of the Cape by the English in 1806."

These, as Mr. Leibbrandt says, are the heads of stirring events, the full records whereof are found in the Archives.

The closing chapters of Mr. G. M. Theal's 'Chronicles of



Cape Commanders,' 'A Few Leaves of the Stellenbosch Records,' 'A Glance at the Old Records of Swellendam,' and 'A Hundred Years Ago,' are particularly instructive. Theal says :—

"The district of Swellendam comprised the whole country bordering upon the sea from the Breede River eastward as far as there were European inhabitants. For some years after its formation the Bushmans River was considered as its boundary in that direction. In this enormous space of territory the farmers were thinly scattered about, and were almost entirely cut off from a knowledge of what was going on in the outside world. They were living under a Government which prohibited free commercial intercourse; they were slave-owners, and the nature of the Slave Code was such that a less humane and religious people would inevitably have been turned into barbarians under it. The price of everything was fixed by law, even to putting a spoke into a broken waggon-wheel. These are not mere assertions, for the documentary evidence upon which they rest is beyond all contradiction.

"The Cape Colony was in these respects, perhaps, no whit worse than many of the most advanced European countries; but that does not make the contrast between the middle of the eighteenth and the close of the nineteenth century in South Africa any the less striking. Some of the sentences recorded and carried out in those days were so brutal, so horribly ferocious, that one cannot read them without shuddering. They cannot be written down without a sense of pain, or thought of at all without a feeling of gratitude to the merciful God that those times have passed away. Some of the laws, however, may be here quoted to show the spirit of that age.

"In 1744, a proclamation of the Governor and Council

was issued, in which the price to be charged by waggon-makers and blacksmiths for every part of their work was minutely fixed. In 1753, a law was enacted concerning the sale of ivory. . . . Any one detected selling or disposing of ivory in any manner, or to any person whatever, except to the Honourable Company, should pay a fine of £69 9s. 2d., plus £6 18s. 11d., for every tusk so sold, and be immediately sent from South Africa to Europe. The purchaser should be punished in the same manner. . . . But it is in the Slave Code that the wide difference between the spirit of those times and those in which we live is most observable. . . . In the preamble of the Slave Code, drawn up by Governor Regd. Tulbagh and the Council of Policy, it is stated that notwithstanding all the stringent proclamations that had from time to time been issued, the misconduct and brutality of the slaves was such that, for the preservation of peace and good order, it was necessary to collect into one ordinance all the laws relating to slaves, and to amplify them to meet the circumstances then existing. After mature deliberation, the Code was drawn up in the Castle of Good Hope on the 3rd September, 1754, and two days afterwards was published by being affixed to the notice-board with the great seal of the Company attached to it. The second paragraph condemns to death without mercy any male or female slave who shall raise his or her hand, though without weapons, against master or mistress. The twenty-third condemns every slave found at the entrance of a church, when the congregation was leaving, to be severely flogged by the ministers of justice. The twenty-fourth inflicts the same punishment upon any slave, big or little, found within a churchyard at the time of a funeral. The twenty-eighth prohibits more than six, eight, or at the utmost ten pairs of slaves from

following the corpse of a dead slave to its burial. The number was to be regulated according to the rank of the owner of the deceased, by whom a fine equal to £ 5 4s. 2d. was to be paid if the rule was transgressed. In many cases slaves were to be flogged at once by the officers of justice without any trial.

“Such were the laws under which the inhabitants of the Cape Colony lived during last century. It would be interesting to trace the steps which led from this kind of Government to its natural result, the anarchy which prevailed in the district towards the end of the century ; but the official records of that period have been lost. We do not meet with them again until the last Landdrost under the East India Company, Mr. Anthony Alexander Faure, has taken office in Swellendam.

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“Many of the farmers had fallen in arrear with their land rents, which, in fact, some of them took little trouble to pay, even when the Government was willing to receive cattle instead of money. The only other direct tax which they were supposed to pay to the Company was the tithe of all produce taken to Cape Town for sale ; but they were required to pay to the funds of their own district one shilling and five pence for every hundred sheep, and one penny for every head of horned cattle in their possession, besides rates for special purposes. The poverty of the farmers was increasing, and in addition to other troubles many of them were exposed to depredations by Bushmen and Kaffirs. In 1794, the Landdrost and Heemraad forwarded to Government a list of names of over fifty heads of families who were altogether too poor to pay the overdue land rents, and of nearly as many more who could only pay one half. Poverty

breeds discontent, especially when there is no hope of improvement without a change in the existing order of affairs.

“One of the prominent grievances of the time was a tax for the maintenance of a pontoon on the Breede River. Every holder of a farm in the district was required to pay eleven shillings and a penny (8 Cape gulden) yearly for that purpose, whether he used the pontoon or not. To many of them this seemed to be gross injustice, and they used very strong language about it. Their petitions on this subject were strange mixtures of requests, demands, and biblical arguments. At length, in 1792, one of these petitions proved so offensive that the complainants were informed by the Governor and Council of Policy that if they did not pay the tax their farms would be forfeited and given to those who would pay it; and, furthermore, the Landdrost was instructed to prosecute the authors of the seditious paper before the High Court of Justice.”

In 1795, the country was in open rebellion, and such was its internal condition when in October of that year it surrendered to the arms of His Britannic Majesty, and became an English Colony, and a new *régime*, the very reverse of that which we have just been depicting, was introduced. A Proclamation issued on the 15th October, 1795, provided among other things that—

“The monopoly and the oppression hitherto practised for the profit of the East India Company is at an end. From this day forward there is free trade, and a free market. Every one may buy from whom he will, sell to whom he will, employ whom he will, and come and go whenever and wherever he chooses, by land or water.

“The inhabitants are invited to send their cattle, &c., to Cape Town, where they are at liberty to sell the same in

such manner as they may find best, and most profitable to themselves," &c., &c.

In August, 1797, another proclamation was issued remitting all arrears of land rent that were due up to the date of the capitulation. A copy of this proclamation, translated into Dutch, and forwarded by Secretary Stockenstrom to Mr. Pieter Hendrik van Rooyen, Veldwagtmeester, Lange Kloof, dated at Swellendam, 1st August, 1797, is among the papers of the late Sir A. Stockenstrom.

Lichtenstein enters at great length into the state of the country at this period; and the following extracts from his 'Travels in South Africa' will be particularly interesting as introducing the elder Stockenstrom:—

"When the Cape was taken by the English, in the year 1795, the Colony was in an unusual state of anarchy and internal distraction, which not a little contributed towards rendering the conquest so easy to the enemy, for in the eyes of impartial observers the evil of falling under a foreign yoke appeared incomparably less than the probable ones which were then hanging over them. Some restless adventurers from Europe had introduced here the fanaticism of freedom, and awakened among the people, otherwise too much inclined to discord and disobedience, a revolutionary rage, which their ignorance and crude conceptions rendered no less laughable than dangerous, and which without the intervention of the enemy would very likely have spread ruin over the whole Colony. . . . It was not, however, possible for the new English Administration to suppress entirely the ill consequences arising from the rage of freedom which had been excited, particularly since, their true purposes being mistaken, they were considered as supporters of the Orange party, to oppose which the general judgment was agreed. It was chiefly in the district of Graaff Reinet, and the eastern part of Swellendam that the greatest

opposition was shown to the English Government during the whole time of their continuing here. The refractory were indeed quieted by force of arms, but this was done with so little discretion and foresight that the evil was thereby rather increased than diminished. Thence arose discords with the Kaffir tribes who inhabit the eastern borders of the Colony, and as in the case of Graaff Reinet, by the most imprudent measures the Hottentots were employed in subduing the rebellious peasants. The latter thereupon, after a formal engagement, fled with their women and children to a remote corner of the Colony, when a numerous body of these savages spread themselves along the sea coast, overthrew the dwellings, destroyed the gardens and fields, made themselves a path by burning and massacre, and pressed forward to Outeniqualand, near Mossel Bay."

Of Graaff Reinet the same writer says :—

" The village of Graaff Reinet was founded, in the year 1786, by Governor Van de Graaff, and was called, from the examples of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, after the names of himself and his wife, the latter being of the family of Reinet. About twenty houses, with the gardens between, built in a straight line, form a tolerably broad street. The inhabitants of these houses are a smith, a waggon-wright, a saddler, a carpenter, and other handicraft workers, who gain a very good livelihood ; there are also some little traders ; but their stock of wares appeared very scanty. The Drostdy, or habitation of the Landrost, was the oldest and worst house in the village ; and the church, although rebuilt only eight years before at the expense of the congregation, was in very indifferent repair. At the end of the street were the remains of the English barracks, which formerly served as a sort of fortress. At the

unfortunate period of the last contest between the villagers and the Hottentots in the English service they were set on fire, and two of the houses reduced to ashes. Melancholy traces of the calamities by which these parts were so long distracted were nowhere more evidently discernible than here. They not only appeared in the destruction of the public buildings, but were still more manifest in the unexampled disorder that had been introduced into every part of the administration of the district, and the change wrought in the manners and modes of thinking of the inhabitants. It appears, therefore, not irrelevant to my purpose to investigate somewhat more amply than has yet been done the occasion of these dissensions.

“Even before the Drostdy of Graaff Reinet was established, the inhabitants of the country were some of the most factious and turbulent of the whole Colony. They lived in so remote a part that it was almost impossible for the Government to provide effectually for the laws being properly enforced, and they were besides almost all foreigners of perturbed minds who here sought a home. If a soldier who had served out his time, or an European who had not talents sufficient to get his bread in Cape Town, wished to establish himself as a Colonist, this was the part to which all such were sent. During the rapidly increasing population which took place between the years 1760 and 1780, several Colonists' sons sought in this country, so propitious to the feeding of cattle, to establish themselves with herds of their own ; and the success they met with attracted others to do the same. The then Government was certainly guilty of an error in being too careless and easy in granting lands to almost any one who applied for them without regard to the views or principles of the applicant.



“The assembling together of so many uncultivated men in so remote a country, where every one without any attention to the laws acted only according to his own pleasure, could not fail of producing bad effects upon the general character. To the many failings which, no doubt, might previously be imputed to them, the emigrant Europeans, who were commonly from among the lowest ranks in the mother country, brought a new list of vices till then unknown among the Africans, or from which they had been withheld by their bigotry, often overstrained, though useful in this point of view. The contentious spirit, always too prevalent among the Colonists, and which commonly had for its object some difference regarding the boundaries of their respective properties, broke out here into lamentable family divisions which were attended with the most degrading consequences. Without the restoration of some severe civil regulations, and the introduction of some intermediate authority which could constantly watch over the people, it seemed inevitable that every generation would go backwards in civilisation, and that they would at last sink nearly as low in the scale of human nature as the former savage inhabitants of the country. The foundation of the Drostdy at Graaff Reinet became therefore a measure of indispensable necessity ; indeed, in order to have had all the effect that was to be wished, it ought to have been established ten or twenty years sooner. Perhaps, however, that was scarcely possible, as this part of the Colony was not then sufficiently populous to support the keeping up a magistrate of its own with all the appendages necessary to it.”

After expatiating on the unfortunate selections of the persons to fill the new magistracy, and on the further causes of dissatisfaction and excitement Lichtenstein proceeds :—



“Nothing then remained but to blow the spirit of discontent and resistance which they saw rising among the rough Colonists into an open flame ; while the latter, from their ignorance and credulity, were easily won over to opinions so perfectly accordant with their principles. Many European adventurers in the district of Graaff Reinet, among whom the names of Pisani and Delport stand recorded in the history of the Colony of the Cape with particular horror, suffered themselves to be made in some measure the tools of those who wished to disturb the public peace ; but they were, besides, themselves ambitious of being popular leaders, and were ready to do anything which, by exciting general confusion, might afford a hope of their own private ends being more effectually attained. In the year 1794, the commotions in Graaff Reinet fairly broke out. The then Landdrost, Meinier, who had not been a very mild regent towards his subjects, was constrained to depart, and a popular Government was immediately organised, which, though the seat of it was at Graaff Reinet, extended over other parts of the Colony. A Commission of some members of the Government, who went into the country endeavouring to restore peace in a mild and reasonable way, returned to Cape Town, after the first interview with the ringleaders, wholly discouraged. At the same time, if they had been disposed to do that by force which they had sought in vain to obtain by gentleness and persuasion, the means were wanting, since an attack from the English was to be apprehended at any moment.

“The peasants, therefore, were of necessity left to pursue their mad career unmolested. They held primary assemblies ; they wore the national cockade ; they chose from among themselves a president and secretary who could scarcely read or write ; and deliberated with a like

important air upon affairs of State as upon the affairs of their own private families. The protocol of these assemblies, which still exists in the Archives of the Drostdy, exhibits a very curious picture of their proceedings, to which, how much soever they endeavoured to ape those of the French popular assemblies, nothing similar can anywhere be found. Yet it must be mentioned to their credit that, during the whole time this state of anarchy continued, no real horrors were perpetrated, no cruel sentences were inflicted, either of death or of corporal punishment. The frenzy, however, continually spread wider and wider. In the districts of the Bruintjes Hoogte, of the Zwaartkops River, the Zwaarteberg and the Sneeuwberg, societies were formed,—nay, even some individuals from Goup and the Roggeveltdts associated themselves together under the shibboleth of liberty and equality. . . . Matters were in this situation when the Colony was taken by the English. . . . Emboldened by the little opposition they had hitherto found from the weakness of the Dutch Government, the people of Graaff Reinet had the courage formally to refuse taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The tone, however, of the leaders was wholly changed. Instead of the revolutionary propositions they had hitherto held, they now only talked of attachment to their mother country; what drove them to opposition was no longer Orange principles—it was to the English that they declared themselves decided opponents; instead of enemies to the old order of things, they were now determined foes to the new. A detachment of English soldiers, however, sufficed to overthrow all their plans: scarcely did they show themselves before their determined opposition was no longer thought of; they submitted quietly and promised obedience. This was the propitious moment

when the peace and happiness of the district might have been assured. The race of human kind there might even have been improved if a person of understanding and judgment had been placed at the head of them ; one who knew how to gain the respect and affection of men unaccustomed to restraint, and to rule them with paternal decision. Instead of that, the unfortunate idea was adopted that they must be governed with energy, and the same Meinier was sent there anew as Landdrost, who from his ill-timed severity had occasioned the breaking out of the discontents. . . . It became then very soon evident that the authority of the Landdrost could not be maintained without a military force. Sir James Craig had organised a body of Hottentots, and these were the troops selected to humble the Colonists, to watch over and control them. It is impossible not to censure the imprudence of such a measure. How great soever might be the faults of the Colonists towards their Hottentots, this was not the way to promote better behaviour in future. At the same time that an opportunity was given to the Hottentots to gratify a spirit of revenge, which ought rather to have been discouraged than promoted, the Colonists were inflamed to a positive hatred of their former servants, and had too much pretence given for greater severity in their future conduct towards them. Besides, there were many among the Hottentots who had received much kindness from their former masters, and they were now placed in such a situation as to subject them to the reproach of repaying their kindness with ingratitude. The Colonists were, moreover, from this measure constrained to forego the hired services of the Hottentots, and to purchase slaves at a very high price, or let their establishments fall entirely to the ground.

“Spacious barracks were built at Graaff Reinets for the Hottentots, the erection of which plainly showed that the possibility of a revolt was a thing speculated upon, and in case of a powerful attack they would be secure in those buildings. The Hottentots were well fed and well paid ; they were even treated abundantly with their favourite brandy, and revelled in a sort of affluence, while the situation of the Colonists sunk every day lower and lower. The government of the Landdrost was carried on in conformity with the principles he had laid down when he had been in office before : it was with a firmness bordering on ferocity ; at least, so it must appear to the subjects, and it failed not to alienate their minds from the new Government more and more every day. . . . For two years the people of Graaff Reinets were kept down by means of the garrison ; but about the end of the year 1798 an occurrence happened which gave the signal for an open revolt. A certain Zacharias\* van Jaarsveld was put into prison by the Landdrost, on account of some money, which as a trustee he had misapplied ; and was to be transported to Cape Town and delivered over to the College of Justice there. Though he had himself always avoided taking part in the disturbances, some of his friends were among the most discontented ; and fourteen of them entered into a solemn agreement to free him from the hands of justice. The project succeeded so far that they overpowered the escort which was to carry him to the Cape, and brought him back to Graaff Reinets. There a number of other Colonists joined them, and the question was no longer confined to freeing the prisoner—the Landdrost was required to redress other grievances, over some of which he had not of himself any power. As their force was

\* The Archives give the name “Adrian.”

too considerable for the Landdrost to act in open opposition to them, he retreated into the barracks as his only asylum. The number of the discontented in the meantime increasing, they went round the whole country exciting it to tumult, and in Graaff Reinet itself made use of a house directly opposite to the barracks as a place of assembly for the ringleaders.

“Whether it was the apprehension of these tumultuary movements ending in a real attack, or hope to impress the insurgents with terror, the Landdrost was pleased to fire upon the house. Many of those assembled there were wounded, and soon after the house broke out into flames. The Colonists, indeed, fired again upon the barracks ; but no important consequences occurred, and they soon returned into the village without undertaking anything further. Then natural phlegm, the fear of inevitable punishment if they engaged in any decisive act of force against the Landdrost, want of necessities to provide for so large a body of men, perhaps also want of union among themselves, compelled them to peaceable behaviour, while a stronger detachment of English, which soon arrived, dispersed them entirely. Nine of the most turbulent were seized and carried prisoners to Algoa Bay, whence they were sent by sea to Cape Town. The College of Justice there in the sequel condemned them to death ; but the sentence was not yet executed when information of the peace of Amiens arrived. The English Commander then judged, honorably enough, that in consideration of the good understanding restored between the two Powers, the pretence of adherence to the mother country, which had been assigned as the principal motive of their delinquency, ought to be suffered to have its weight, and left the final decision of the process to the Dutch themselves. By them a four years’ imprisonment

was determined to be sufficient punishment, and the delinquents were in the end set at liberty, at the same time that a general amnesty was proclaimed. . . .

“Soon after the above occurrences in Graaff Reinet—that is, in the year 1799—the English Government judged it proper to name a new Landdrost in the place of Meinier. But the distrust and discontent of the Colonists had risen to so great a height that it was become impossible to restore tranquility. More than sixty families, under the conduct of Rensburg, had emigrated; the Kaffirs had established themselves in the whole southern part of the district; more than half the farms were forsaken and destroyed; dearth and murrain succeeded, and carried the misery to its acme. Those among the Colonists who had remained did not cease upon every possible occasion to show a spirit of disobedience to the Government, and, notwithstanding their unfortunate circumstances, to thwart and do little acts of enmity towards it in various ways. The Landdrost in the end was wearied out, and returned back to the Cape, and in his place the Field-Commandant Gerotz, a worthy old Swabian, from mere goodwill, but without any great capacity, took upon himself the administration of the public business. The Government seemed scarcely any longer to think it worth while to concern itself about these people, especially after intelligence was received that the Colony was to be restored to the Dutch, and quietly abandoned them to their fate. Under circumstances so unfavourable, the restoration of order in this district was one of the first and most anxious cares of the new Dutch Commander. After having concluded peace with the Kaffirs, General Janssens next repaired to Graaff Reinet. He found the country in the most melancholy condition: half the inhabitants

reduced to extremities by the Kaffirs, others in perpetual strife with the Bosjesmans, few in a situation to pay the most trifling impost. . . . Their reciprocal irreconcilable spirit of discord and enmity towards each other, their wholly perverted ideas of right and wrong, their extravagant notions with regard to liberty, their total want of true religious principles, though making much external profession of piety, their perfect ignorance in short of all social virtues, had placed them in a most unfortunate situation both for themselves and for the Government. . . .

“Such complicated and deep-rooted evils could not be remedied in a moment. The Governor, however, rejoiced that by his journey he had acquired a more accurate knowledge of the district of Graaff Reinet, and of its actual situation. He exhorted the inhabitants in the most energetic manner to live in peace and concord among each other ; he endeavoured to introduce some order in the government, and at his return to Cape Town consulted earnestly with the Commissary-General upon the means of repairing the present and obviating future evils. The carrying into execution the resolutions taken for this purpose was one of the primary objects of the Commissary-General’s journey. The hitherto Secretary of the District of Swellendam, Stockenstrom, a man who had all the qualities and all the knowledge requisite for occupying so arduous a post, had been prevailed upon to accept the office of Landdrost, and his arrival was expected at the same time with ourselves.”



## CHAPTER II.

1792-1810.

Birth—Childhood—Education—Tot nut van 't Algemeen—Leaves School—Journey to Graaff Reinet—Meet Col. Collins—Village of Graaff Reinet—Col. Collins reaches Graaff Reinet—Young Stockenstrom joins Col. Collins—Locusts and Trek-bokken—Bushmen—Boundary of Colony—Bushman kraals—Enquiries after Dr. Cowan and Lieutenant Donovan—Caledon River—Sources of Orange River—Kraai River—Mineral Springs—Schaap Kraal—Elder Stockenstrom joins party—Klip Plaat River—Kabousie—White Kei—Extent of Bushman Country—Vacant hunting-grounds—Transkei—Hintza—Two White Men—Recross Kei—Buffalo River—Keiskamma—Boundaries of Kaffraria—Struggle between Gaika and Hlambie—Occupation of Zuurveld—Boschberg—Hlambie—Uitenhage—Coal and Copper—Port Elizabeth.

ABOUT my childhood—the incidents whereof, though some of them are very amusing to myself, cannot be worth recording—I am not going to detain you, beyond noting that, being born in Burg Street, Cape Town, on the 6th of July, 1792, I a couple of years later accompanied my parents to Swellendam, where my father was appointed Secretary of the District, expressly chosen to help Landdrost Faure in a most difficult position, the district being in a very unsettled state—like the greatest part of the Colony.

As there was then no school in Swellendam, and my parents were anxious to avail themselves of the best means of instruction which the Colony then afforded, I was sent back to the metropolis as soon as I was seven or eight years of age, and adopted, for the time being, into the family of my father's countryman and bosom



friend, Mr. Egidius Benedictus Ziervogel, whose kindness and solicitude, as well as the motherly care and wise admonitions of whose worthy spouse, can never be effaced from my grateful recollections.

What Cape Schools were in those days it is needless to describe. I was tried at some of them for six schellings (or thirteen pence halfpenny) per month, and found very stupid. Being tossed about from Arsaai to Kok, and from Kok to Weideman, and so on, until an excellent boarding school was established by a highly-educated English gentleman named Weaving, under whose tuition I passed rather more than a year, when, the Colony being restored to the Dutch, Mr. Weaving returned to England, to the great regret and loss of several families. With a little smattering of English, I was thrown back upon my former teachers, and my friends had then to try Tolleson and Vermaas, who had just immigrated from Holland, until that excellent institution, "Tot nut van 't Algemeen" started into existence. Of this my friends at once availed themselves; and fortunate it would have been for me if I could have stayed there longer.

Under Agron, and afterwards under Van Es, to whom I am deeply indebted, I picked up some grammatical Dutch and French, with the first elements of arithmetic, but lost most of my English, until 1808, when I had completed my sixteenth year, and when it was my duty (colonially speaking) to be "volleerd";\* and as my good father could not afford to send me to Europe, or to keep me any longer in the capital, I was sent off to be a supernumerary clerk in the Public Office in Graaff Reinet, where my father had become Landdrost in 1803, by the special desire of the Dutch Government, in consequence of his success in Swellendam.

\* I.e. to have completed my education.

My father had five more children to provide for, and it was but just that I should struggle for further knowledge by means of assisting him in his arduous duties. Fancy then the extent of my literary and scientific acquirements when I was packed into a bullock-waggon under the auspices of an honest Boer of the old school, William Sterrenberg Pretorius, and his kind old wife, with a red-nosed drinking saddle-maker for a companion, proceeding to commence my public and political career!

How my father came to be selected by Commissioner-General De Mist and the Governor-General Janssens for the important situation of Landdrost of Graaff Reinet has been stated by Lichtenstein. I shall here only incidentally observe that the universal respect with which I found my parent's name received whenever it was mentioned gave me peculiar satisfaction. I was too young and inexperienced to be very observant, but cannot forget that I was greatly struck with the unsophisticated kindness and hospitality of the farmers of those days, and the absence of that domineering spirit which might be looked for as conspicuous in a country where slavery existed together with a very despotic sway over the aborigines. That abuse of power did too often take place is undeniable; but to the public eye all appeared contentment.

We travelled through Tulbagh, the Hex River, where Worcester was not yet thought of, and were crossing the dreary Karroo, when one morning I found myself outspanned at the Kweek Valley, then the farm and residence of the Field-Cornet Samuel de Beer, now converted into the town of Prince Albert. I was amusing myself with trying to render myself expert in the use of the huge ox-waggon whip, when a person very plainly dressed, but of polished manners, came up and said in

very bad Dutch, "Will you let me try?" To which I answered in equally bad English, "With all my heart!" Having proved himself as great a bungler as I was, he asked me, "Where do you come from?" and "How did you pick up English?" And having learnt my name and destination, he threw down the whip and walked away, but soon returned with an invitation to breakfast with Colonel Collins, who I then found had been sent by Lord Caledon, the then Governor of the Colony, as Commissioner-General, and was detained where he then was by an enquiry into matters connected with the occupation by Kaffirs of certain lands on the Gamka.

I was not prepared for contact with so great a man, but was too proud to refuse, and have never ceased to be thankful for an accident which brought me under the wing of so high and so excellent a character, and which may be considered my *début* into public life; for during breakfast, the Colonel, having asked me numerous questions, luckily happened to take a sort of fancy to me. He proposed that I should stay and travel with him, frankly adding that I might be of service to him by acting as interpreter between himself and the field-cornets and other Boers. He offered to write to my father on the subject; but as I did not like to take so serious a step without the approval of the latter, and was anxious to see my parents and their other children, from whom I had been so long separated, he consented to postpone the arrangement until he should reach Graaff Reinet. This he did not long after me, when I had had quite time enough to be heartily tired of copying hundreds of those interesting documents called "waggon certificates"; so that I was too glad in obtaining my father's consent to my joining the Commissioner, who good-naturedly called me his Dutch secretary, though fortunately for me there

was hardly any writing in the matter, as I should have looked very foolish in drawing up despatches in any language. The Colonel jokingly said to my father, "As you cannot make him a clerk, I shall try and make a secretary of him." I verily believe that my excellent parent then thought that I was fit only to be a farmer, which I certainly preferred far above the waggon certificates.

Graaff Reinets was then a mere village, but the seat of government of the then almost boundless district of the same name, which contained no other spot deserving even the name of village. It had, however, been the headquarters of the "Patriots" during the so-called rebellion of the Boers, and I soon came in contact with most of the leaders, as well as the body of the so lately disaffected, but then quiet, orderly, and friendly people.

Lichtenstein has been referred to for the motives which induced the Dutch Government to remove from Swellendam the Secretary Stockenstrom to be Landdrost of Graaff Reinets, and here it is only necessary to add that the latter was as eminently successful as he had been at Swellendam, so that Collins found the village becoming a town, commercially prospering, with its inhabitants, like those of the whole district, peaceable, confiding, and contented.

The Colonel, after as little delay as his enquiries would allow, left Graaff Reinets accompanied by Doctor Cowdery and myself. The doctor was assistant-surgeon of the 83rd Regiment, as well as a man of science and general knowledge. It was he who had so kindly brought me into contact with his chief at the Kweek Valley, and to whose kindness and advice during our travels I felt myself deeply indebted. We proceeded across the Sneeuwbergen to the Orange River. Not

being capable of very profound observation, I was contented with more superficial matter.

The first object that struck me with astonishment was the incredible number of game that literally covered the country. Immediately upon leaving the village, we entered into flocks of countless springbucks, with some half-dozens of ostriches here and there to the foot of the mountain range which constitutes the watershed between the Sundays River, flowing into the Indian Ocean, and the Orange River, which empties itself into the Atlantic. In the valleys, interspersed among the higher chains of the Sneeuwberg, these animals were found in smaller numbers ; but when we descended into the great plains bordering on the Sea Cow River, the endless droves of the same bucks not only, but of wildebeests, quaggas, hartebeests, gemsboks, and blesboks, were indeed astonishing. Lions, of course, were numerous ; but we did not see many, and never near ; though few nights passed without some damage done by them among the cattle and horses of the farmers at whose residences we were obliged to rest. Since the population has increased, and the springs have been taken possession of, the game and lions have of course greatly diminished, and may in another half-century become as scarce in the Colesberg district as in those of Swellendam and Stellenbosch. The immigration of the Trek-bokken will, however, for several generations continue periodically to replenish our flats with one species of antelope. As my first literary attempt, in the year 1824 I sent a brief account of these immigrations to my late excellent friend, the poet, Thomas Pringle, who deemed it worthy of a place in the magazine which he started in Cape Town. He insisted on my trying to contribute, and I wrote to satisfy him, as well as I could, what I feared would not

be read ; but as it has been translated into several European languages, I need not be ashamed to refer you to it, if you care to know anything more about Trek-bokken and locusts.

It was as follows :—

#### “ LOCUSTS AND TREK-BOKKEN.

“The inhabitants of the Graaff Reinet district have been a good deal alarmed of late by a report that immense swarms of migrating locusts had made their appearance on this side of the Orange River, proceeding southward. From the devastations occasioned by these insects in the eastern parts of the Colony at different periods, there is good ground for those fears if the report be well founded. Since 1808, we believe they have not been seen in Southern Africa ; but the injury suffered from their visits for several years before that we believe not to be generally known, as we do not recollect to have seen it mentioned by any traveller who has written on this corner of our continent.

“From everything we can collect from the most authentic authorities of the Colony, the locusts of Southern Africa are in every respect similar to those appalling multitudes which overran some parts of the south of Europe, and even Hungary and Poland, about the middle of the last century, as detailed in the forty-sixth volume of the transactions of the Royal Society. They have often been seen in such numbers as to obscure the sky where they were passing, and extensive fields in the most promising state of luxuriance have been known to be destroyed and left waste by them in a few hours. The flying locusts are, however, less dreaded in this Colony than those which have not quite reached that

stage of maturity, and are therefore vulgarly called 'voetgangers.'

"On the distant approach of the former, if the wind be favourable, by making a fire and causing a dense smoke to overcast the fields, they will generally pass over with the smoke ; but the younger or jumping locusts nothing will check in their course, and a powerful stream alone, on the side they approach, can save the crops of the agriculturist from their ravages. Stagnant pools they will cross by the leading multitudes being drowned, and thus forming a bridge for those following ; and fires are extinguished by the incalculable numbers, which precipitate themselves on the flames in succession, and by sacrificing themselves provide a safe passage for those that follow.

"Their numbers are indeed so inconceivably great that their approach may be justly dreaded ; for, where there are no cultivated fields to destroy, the pasturage is not a less valuable object to the grazier, who is not seldom driven from the farm those depredators have travelled over to find subsistence for his flocks in those parts which they have missed in their migrations. If they happen to be accompanied, or rather pursued, by the birds called by the African farmer Springhaan-Vogels (as is reported to be the case in the present instance), the prospect is less appalling, as these birds, which seem to vie with the locusts as much in point of numbers (comparatively speaking) as in voraciousness, live on them alone, and consequently soon extirpate them, or at least make them disappear in a short time.

"We have not got a good description of the South African Springhaan-Vogel, further than that it is rather larger than the mountain swallow and spotted. They are seldom, or never seen, except when their prey, the



locusts, are so very numerous. Not only they, but every animal, domestic and wild, contribute to the destruction of the locust swarms—as the fowl, the sheep, the horse, the dog, the antelope, and everything living may be seen devouring them with equal greediness ; whilst the unfortunate Bosjesmen, and even the less indigent Hottentots, consider them a great luxury, consuming great quantities fresh, and drying abundance for future emergencies. The same is said to be the practice of the Arabs by Drs. Shaw and Russel, and by later travellers in the East, as Burckhardt and others. Great havoc is also committed among the locusts by themselves, for as soon as any one of the number gets hurt, or meets with any other accident which impedes his progress, his fellow-travellers nearest to him immediately turn upon him and devour him with great voracity.

“As they are described to do in eastern countries, so also in this, the locusts begin their travels after sunrise and encamp at sunset, and unhappy the farmer on whose fields they happen to quarter themselves for a night’s lodgings. When the sun becomes transiently obscured by a passing cloud, they will often stop and collect as if to rest for a night ; but as soon as it clears up again they will resume their march or flight. If their halting-place be discovered in the neighbourhood of some farm, the farmer will try to destroy them by driving his flocks of sheep and cattle to the spot before the sun rises to trample them to death ; but unless their number be none of the most considerable, little benefit is derived from this effort.

“Such phenomena as above described, having been often observed in other countries, will not appear extraordinary in this ; but one, which though not uncommon towards our northern frontier, has not fallen under the



notice of those travellers who have published on South Africa (at least, not the notice it deserves), is what our Colonists call 'Trek-bokken.' It is scarcely possible for a person passing over some of the extensive tracts of the interior, and admiring that beautiful antelope, the springbuck, thinly scattered over the plains, bounding in playful ignorance, to figure to himself that these ornaments of the desert can often become as destructive as the locusts we have just described.

"The incredible numbers, which sometimes pour in from the north during protracted droughts, distress the farmer as much. Any attempt at numerical computation would be vain, and by trying to come near the truth the author would subject himself, in the eyes of those who have no knowledge of the country, to a suspicion that he was availing himself of a traveller's assumed privilege. Yet it is well known in the interior, that on approach of the Trek-bokken or migrating springbuck, the grazier makes up his mind to look for pasturage for his flocks elsewhere, and considers himself entirely dispossessed of his lands until heavy rains fall. Every attempt to save the cultivated fields, if they be not enclosed by high and thick hedges, proves abortive. Heaps of dry manure (the fuel of the Sneeuwbergen and other parts) are placed close to each other round the fields, and set on fire in the evening, so as to cause a dense smoke, by which it is hoped the antelopes will be deterred from their inroads. But the dawn of day exposes the inefficiency of the precaution, by showing the lands, which appeared proud of their promising verdure the evening before, covered with thousands, and reaped level with the ground.

"Instances have been known of some of these frightful droves passing through flocks of sheep, and numbers of

the latter, carried along by the torrent, being lost to their owner, and becoming a prey to the wild beasts. . As long as these droughts last, their inroads and depredations continue, and the havoc committed among them is of course great, as they constitute the food of all classes ; but no sooner do the rains fall than they disappear, and in a few days become as scarce on the borders as in the more protected districts of the Brintjes Hoogte and Camdeboo.

“The native Colonists themselves can form no conception of the cause of the extraordinary appearance of these animals ; and from their not being able to account for it, those who have not been eye-witnesses of these scenes, consider their accounts exaggerated ; but a little more minute inspection of the country south of the Orange River solves the difficulty at once. The immense desert tracts between that river and our Colony, westward of the Sea Cow River, destitute of permanent springs, and therefore uninhabitable by human beings for any length of time, are notwithstanding interspersed with stagnant pools, and ‘Vleys,’ or natural reservoirs of brackish water, which, however bad, satisfies the game.”

“In these extensive endless plains, the springbucks multiply undisturbed by the hunter (except when an occasional Bosjesman is by starvation driven to make the generally unsuccessful attempt), until the country literally swarms with them, when perhaps one year out of four or five a lasting drought leaves the pools exhausted and parches up the soil, naturally inclined to sterility. Want then, principally of water, drives those myriads of animals either to the Orange River or to the Colony, when they intrude in the manner above described ; but when the thunderclouds pour their torrents upon our burnt-up country, reanimating vegetation, and restoring plenty to all graminivorous beings—then, when we could

perhaps afford to harbour those unwelcome visitors, their own instinct and our persecutions propel them again to their more sterile, but more peaceful valleys and flats, to recruit the numbers lost during their migration, and to resume their attacks upon us when their wants shall again compel them.

“District of Graaff Reinet, February 10th, 1824.”

On every farm between the great Sneeuwberg Chain and the Orange River, we found a Bushman family, or kraal, easily maintained by the enormous flocks of sheep and game, and very useful to the farmer—the men as herdsmen, the women as servants to the housewife. Permanent residences, as well as visitors, being scarce in those days, the arrival of such party as ours at a farmhouse was quite an event, and the reception very cordial and rudely hospitable. The welcome songs of the numerous Bushmen scattered among the rocks above the Hartebeest hut, for substantial buildings were few indeed, mixed with the barkings of hosts of dogs, the bellowing of cattle, the neighing of horses, the bleating of sheep, and occasionally a *feu-de-joie* in honour of the Commissioner, rendered the scene very cheering.

The line running through what is now the town of Colesberg and Plettenberg's beacon then constituted the northern boundary of the Colony, and no Colonist was found living permanently beyond it; of course, everybody was anxious that the Commissioner should extend the Colony to the Orange River, which he said he would do if he had the power, as it was supposed that there was not a single being in occupation. We, however, subsequently fell in with several kraals of the savages, and were highly gratified in becoming acquainted with them in their natural state. Numbers of men, women

and children followed in our train for the sake of the game which our escort killed, and encamped about our fires at night. Their powers of eating certainly are extraordinary, so as materially to affect their shapes before and after meals ; but nothing surprised me more than a woman, evidently near her confinement, starting on foot from a bivouac in the morning at the same time as the rest of the party, and joining us in the evening, after a journey of twenty miles, with a baby on her back, as strong and with as good an appetite as if nothing had happened.

Our chief thought some report might have reached these parts about Dr. Cowan and Lieut. Donovan, who had left Cape Town together with himself, but after reaching the Karroo had proceeded due north over the Boggeveld, consequently crossing the Orange River much lower down, intending to travel across the continent to Mozambique. Those unfortunate gentlemen had not been heard of so far east, and have never been heard of since.

In our route eastward we of course came to the mouth of the Caledon River, to which the Commissioner gave the name which it still bears. Farther east we reached and crossed the Stormberg Spruit, beyond which no white man, not even the Van der Walts, our companions and guides, and the leading pioneers of the border Colonists, had ever been. The Commissioner, however, was anxious to get to the sources of the Orange River, to which he gave the name of Alexander, in honour of the Colonial Secretary, because it was understood that the great river only assumed the title of Orange after receiving the Vaal River. This new name got out of use after the revival of its original native name, Gariep, whilst most of the Dutch preserve that of Groot Rivier,

and the English that of Orange River. In a few hours after leaving the Stormberg Spruit, we found our course intercepted by a strong stream, then rendered impassable by the heavy and continued thunder-storms. To this stream the Commissioner gave the name of Grey's River (since corrupted into Kraai Rivier), after General Henry George Grey, then commanding the troops, and afterwards acting Governor of the Colony. We rested for the night near some hot mineral springs, where now the town of Aliwal North is built, and proceeded up along the left bank of the Grey River several days into the Witte-Bergen ; but as the rains continued heavy and the river impassable, we regained the Stormberg Spruit, where now Burgersdorp stands, and crossed over to Schaap Kraal, in the Tarka District.

Doctor Cowderry pronounced the country which we had gone over rich in iron and copper, which, however, could not be profitably worked for want of fuel and cheap conveyance, the rivers being nowhere navigable, and the roads being bad and endless.

From Schaap Kraal I was sent to Graaff Reinet with an express to my father, who had promised to join the Commissioner in his tour through Kaffraria. This junction soon took place. We proceeded by the Klip Plaat River, now Shiloh, along the north side of the Amatola Mountains to the Kaboosie, and thence to the White or Great Kei, which we crossed at the lower drift on horseback, leaving our waggons in charge of our burgher escort on the high land about ten miles off the western bank of the river.

The whole country between the Tarka and the Kaboosie was altogether uninhabited, being then called and considered the Bushman country. We did not in the whole of this extent see a human being (the few remaining wild Bushmen keeping far aloof in the mountains), ex-

cept a petty Tambookie Chief named Landé, who was crossing our path with a few men of his tribe as a deputation from his Chief on the Upper Bashee to the Kaffir Chief Gaika, on the Tyumie, on some matrimonial treaty. By these Tambookies we found it a generally admitted fact that the country we were then in was Bushman country; extending on the east as far as the Kei, on the south to the great mountain range, on the west to the Colony, and on the north unlimited, the Basutu and other black tribes, except Kaffirs, Tambookies, Betchuanas, and the various Hottentot tribes, being then even by name unknown to the Cape Colony.

Likewise, south of the Kaboosie we saw no Kaffirs, except a few hunters, the country between the Kei and Buffalo being kept vacant as hunting-grounds common to the Ama Galeka and the Ama Ranabe, *alias* Hintzas and Gaikas. As soon as we got through the Kei, we found the country very thickly inhabited, extensively cultivated with Kaffir corn, and covered with vast herds of fine cattle, some goats without a single sheep, and here and there a solitary horse. Never having seen any of the coloured classes except the comparatively diminutive Malay, Negro, and Hottentot, I could not but admire the Kaffirs as a splendid race; but they have since become so well known that any details about their appearance and habits would be supererogatory.

They were very friendly, offering us some milk at every kraal in our route. We visited the residence of Boocho the first evening. This man was the brother and chief councillor of the Great King. He received us kindly, though extremely anxious about the object of our visit, but perfectly confiding when he was assured that we contemplated nothing but peace and goodwill.

The next day we proceeded to Hintzas' great kraal;

but his majesty was not forthcoming, though his Amakati placed at our disposal every comfort that the place offered, consisting of new clean huts, fresh milk, Kaffir corn, and the meat of a fine fat ox slaughtered for the occasion. As the Commissioner found that the Chief was not likely to return home in less than two or three days, though he was suspected of being in the immediate vicinity all the while, he made up his mind to proceed farther east in search of two white men, who were reported to be residing in Kaffirland under very suspicious circumstances. We came upon their huts in the evening ; but they had fled into the jungle on becoming aware of our approach. Their wives, Hottentot women, of whom each had two or three, with their children, were in great consternation, but gave us their huts to sleep in and plenty of Kaffir corn, milk, and fish. They resided quite close to the breakers of the Indian Ocean, in a beautifully romantic situation, and were become Kaffirs in every respect except in eating fish and poultry, which the latter would not do. Next morning my father went into the jungle, and after some trouble brought the fugitives to a parley, when he found them to be a Boer of the name of Lochenberg, who had fled from the Colony as concerned in earlier political troubles, and an Irishman named Mac Daniel, who had deserted from the 8th Dragoons during the first period of the British possession of the Cape. They expressed a desire to return to the Colony ; but this was evidently not sincere, and they were not considered of sufficient importance to make that return a point of solicitude.

We returned to the great kraal, and found Hintza ready to receive us. He gave some explanation of his absence ; but we knew it to be the custom of the country for so great a man to make himself scarce until it be-



comes quite clear that he has nothing to fear from his visitors. A meeting of his Great Council was called, of course, which was, however, of a most friendly character, as our collisions had not reached so far east. Assurances of everlasting peace and goodwill between England and the Ama Galekas were then exchanged, which the Council declared were applicable to all Kaffirland, because, as they emphatically proclaimed, neither Gaika, nor Hlambe, nor even the Amatemboo, could slaughter an ox, or milk a cow, without asking Hintza's permission.

We recrossed the Kei and found our waggons and escort perfectly safe, although surrounded by importunate hunters begging for tobacco and trinkets. We found no permanently occupied kraals before we reached the Upper Buffalo, and proceeding across the Debe or Kommetjes Flats and the Keiskamma River, where is now Fort Cox, we arrived at Gaika's great place on the Tyumie—the master not at home, of course. He did, however, soon make his appearance next day, and received us with great civility; but our political discussions with him and his Council were not so smooth as they had been with the Eastern Kaffirs; for questions of stolen cattle, runaway slaves, military deserters, smuggling of fire-arms and ammunition, had already sprung up, and gave occasion for much crimination and recrimination, although in the end we parted excellent friends, with mutual assurances as on the former occasion. Gaika was still the man that Brown had found him. His warriors excited our warm admiration; and his eldest son, Makomo, appeared to Colonel Collins a noble specimen of a savage prince, capable of being moulded into a Christian hero. The superior rank and power of Hintza were admitted, though independence in matters which did not concern the whole Kaffir tribes was insisted on.

The question of the boundaries of Kaffirland was fully discussed. It was clearly elicited that about the time the Kaffirs first heard of white men being settled in the Far West, the Ama Galekas and the Ama Ranabe still formed one united nation beyond the Kei; that in a struggle between the two, the latter, being the junior branch, proved the weakest, and had to retreat towards the Keiskamma, the country in that direction as far as the Camdeboo and the Gamtoos River being then unoccupied except by a few Gonaqua and Hottentot kraals, the former of which subsequently amalgamated with the Kaffirs; whilst the latter, as Botoma, one of the chief councillors called it, "disappeared from the world, or went to the Boers." The Kaffirs for many years enjoyed the use of the country as far as the Brintjes Hoogte as hunting-grounds and temporary retreat in times of drought, until the Dutch Colonists gradually advanced upon the ground as far as the great Fish River, and came into collision with the earlier immigrants, in which the latter suffered not only defeat, but much cruelty and great injustice.

Towards the close of the last century, Gaika having become of age, and the Regent, his guardian and uncle, Hlambe, refusing to resign the reins of government, a species of civil war ensued, in which the rightful heir was triumphant, so that the rebel uncle and his followers had to fly, and finding no sympathy with their kindred in the East, were compelled to take the opposite direction, and cross the great Fish River into the Zuurveld, where some of their countrymen were already mixed with the original proprietors, the Gonaquabe. The white settlers being then too weak to resist the intruders, they soon gained a footing, and, being joined by several discontented chiefs and their adherents, soon became very strong.

For some time the greatest harmony prevailed between white and black ; but collisions and conflicts could not be permanently avoided. The origin and history of these are deeply interesting ; but the details of our expeditions against, and our negotiations with, the barbarians, cannot be ventured upon without reference to the records of the last century, and more particularly of the administration of Landdrosts Woeke and Maynier, and the many statements and testimonies produced against, and in favour of these gentlemen. However, the result was that the Colonists were driven out of the Zuurveld, their houses burnt, many lives lost, and the Kaffirs settled down between the Bushman and Sundays Rivers, and even to the westward of the latter ; whilst the territory between the former and the Fish River was, according to Kaffir custom, left free for the game to accumulate and to be hunted.

To return to our travels. We left Gaika on the best of terms, and proceeded to the Brintjes Hoogte, through the beautiful tracts watered by the Karoomo, the Koonap, the Kaga, and the Fish. The original inhabitants had indeed disappeared from the world, for, with the exception of some half-dozen Kaffir huntsmen, we did not meet a human being before we reached the whites. The Commissioner was engaged some days near the Boschberg (now Somerset) and the Little Fish River, where he accidentally came in contact with an old farmer who had been on a hunting expedition to the Keiskamma before one single Kaffir hut had been erected west of that river, thus proving that, as late as the middle of last century, that people did not yet permanently occupy the Fish River jungles.

On returning to the Colony, we found a troop of the 21st Dragoons, commanded by Captain John Ord, at the

disposal of the Commissioner, which led to the surmise that some movement against the Zuurveld Kaffirs was in contemplation ; but as the burgher forces were not called out, such movement, if intended, was postponed, and the Commissioner proceeded with a few men to discuss matters with the Chief Hlambe in person, whilst he directed the rest of his party to travel to the Saltpans neck and meet him at Uitenhage, which we did in a few days.

Our stay at the latter town and at Bethelsdorp was peculiarly interesting to a youth in my position, as most of the discussions on the affairs of the Colony in general and of the frontiers in particular between the Commissioner, the Landdrost of Uitenhage, Major Cuyler, and my father took place in my presence, as well as the various bearings of the missionary question, then pending, and warmly defended by the celebrated Doctor Van der Kemp and the Rev. James Read, Sen. Besides political matters, the natural and commercial resources of the country were of course subjects of anxious solicitude; and, as some indications of coal had been mentioned by a scientific traveller, regular miners had been ordered up from Cape Town, and were set to bore in a corner of the salt pan near Bethelsdorp ; but, after reaching the depth of fifty-two feet, the search was abandoned as hopeless. About a dozen miles farther west, upon a farm then belonging to Christian Vogel, rich specimens of lead ore were visible on the high road. It was hoped that this article might be turned to use. An experiment was made ; but, after smelting a few hundred pounds, Dr. Cowdery reported that the lead was good, but that, owing to the scarcity of fuel, the article could be imported cheaper than it could be manufactured on the spot, nor was it deemed likely that exporting the raw material would turn out profitable.

Among the points of discussion above referred to, I recollect being particularly struck by two, in which the Missionaries took a lively part, viz., the law that year (1809) enacted for the amelioration of the condition of the Hottentots, and another soon expected to follow for the introduction of Circuit Courts. I here mention them, as I have always looked upon them as two of the best measures of reform ever enforced in the Colony, and reflecting great honour on the memory of the Earl of Caledon. The utility of the latter has never been questioned to my knowledge ; but as the former has been severely criticised, especially by the philanthropic party, as not going far enough, I can only say that their opponents detested the measure, as conferring a great deal too many privileges and liberties on the aborigines ; and, considering the time in which we then lived, and the feelings prevalent with reference to the social position and rights of the coloured classes, there can be no doubt that the Proclamation of 1809 was as great a step forward as General Bourke's 50th Ordinance was some twenty years later.

We of course visited the seaport, now the wonderful Port Elizabeth, when it consisted simply of a sort of block-house on a large scale, called Fort Frederick, where it still remains on the top of the hill—the so-called Commandant's house or hut, now, I believe, enlarged with public offices, and a canteen where the toll is at present received.

The Commissioner was now to return to Cape Town, and I was to return to my father's office. I had no language to convey to him my sense of his kindness, the benefit which I had derived from the intercourse to which he freely admitted me, and the new ideas and sentiments with which he had inspired me. It is self-evident

that I could not have been of much service to him, yet his generous heart made him assert the contrary, and he kindly offered to procure me a commission in the army for my services, as he was pleased to call them. I was of course too ready to jump at the boon, but my father gratefully declined ; considering me too young and inexperienced to be sent adrift on so boisterous an ocean, and still hoping that I might be fitted for some civil office, though they both agreed that for a Deputy-Landdrostship, as kindly suggested by Lord Caledon, such as had then lately been created for young Mr. D. van Ryneveld, I was not ripe, and I then began to think that I was destined to be a farmer.

## CHAPTER III.

1810-1812.

Both Stockenstroms visit Cape Town—Claim of Kaffirs to Zuurveld—Col. Collins at Stellenbosch—Discuss future of Stockenstrom, junior—Returned to Graaff Reinet as Clerk and Postmaster—Mission to Hlambe upon claim to Zuurveld—Lost in Bush; found by Kaffir—Major Lyster reaches Graaff Reinet—Success of Mission—Goes to Karroo—Lord Caledon—Gazetted Ensign—Letter to Col. Collins and reply—Sir John Cradock—Sent with Col. Graham to Frontier—Plan of Campaign—Murder of Elder Stockenstrom—Death of Conga—Operations against Kaffirs—Headquarters at Graham Town—Appointed Deputy-Landdrost of Graaff Reinet.

WE were not long back in Graaff Reinet when my father was called to Cape Town. I believe that the subject on which he was to be consulted was that of the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld. This measure had been decided on at the discussions at Uitenhage; but it struck me that the Governor had some scruples as to whether the English or Kaffir claim to that territory was best founded. It was beyond a doubt that some isolated Boers had squatted down there before the first rush of the Kaffirs across the Fish River under Hlambe took place, and the alleged purchase of the land by the latter Chief from the Dutch authorities was never satisfactorily proved. It has often struck me that this accusation may have originated in some bargain which certainly did take place between the Kaffir Chiefs on the one side and the Gonaquas or Hottentots on the other.

I accompanied my father to the Metropolis. We visited Colonel Collins, who was then quartered at Stellenbosch, and my fortunes were thus discussed in my



presence. The Colonel said that he had told Lord Caledon of my father's objections to my entering the army, and that His Excellency was so anxious to evince his sense of my father's services both in Swellendam and Graaff Reinet under the Dutch as well as the English administration, and that as he intended to create a Deputy Landdrostship in the Eastern extremity of the Colony, as he had shortly before done in the Western extremity at Jan Dissels Vley—now Clan William—to which office he had appointed another young gentleman, the son of the Chief Justice, he (the Governor) would appoint me Deputy Landdrost of my father's district, if the latter would approve of the measure ; but, said the benevolent Colonel, bowing to me with a smile, " I told the Governor I considered you not yet ripe for such a post ; still, if your father thinks that under his eye and guidance you can take upon yourself so great a responsibility, I shall withdraw my objection, and the Governor will at once appoint you." I answered that nobody could know better than the Colonel himself that I was utterly unfit for such an office, and my father promptly added that the thing was impossible, that young Mr. Ryneveld was several years my senior, and had had opportunities of learning a great deal of public business ; but that in my case either the office would be a sinecure by his doing my duty, or I would be plunged into difficulties and led into errors, for which he and my other friends would have to thank themselves. Colonel Collins expressed his warm approval, which the Governor afterwards repeated. The Commission in the army was again offered, but to my great regret again declined, and I marched back to the Landdrost's office upon three hundred rix-dollars per annum, to which, however, was added one hundred rix-dollars for the additional duties of Postmaster,

thus giving me yearly an income of thirty pounds sterling.

The expedition against the Zuurveld was postponed, but towards the close of 1810 I was ordered to proceed to warn Hlambe once more that the Kaffirs would not be allowed to continue in possession of any part of the country west of the Fish River, and to demand compensation for a number of cattle recently stolen from the Colony. I was accompanied by a Burger force under Field-Cornet C. Olivier, and agter Bruintjes Hoogte I joined Captain Frank Evatt with his troop of the 21st Dragoons and some Boers of that district. The Kaffir Chief received us with civility, but expressed great annoyance at being so repeatedly disturbed in the peaceful possession of land, which he again protested he had purchased and paid for. He said it had cost him eight hundred oxen, with great emphasis, backed by the Councillors, describing the colour, shape of the horns, &c., of many of the cattle thus paid. He sent some of the Councillors with some of the Burgers in various directions, with orders to search for and to deliver up all Colonial cattle that might be found in any of his kraals, with a declaration that he would put to death any one of his subjects who should be convicted of the depredation. Many hundred were recovered, but to find the actual thief was out of the question.

On this trip I had a very narrow escape, due to the generosity of a pair of barbarians, which has ever since remained deeply impressed on my mind. Being on the march about half-way between Routenbags drift on the Bushman's River and Hlambe's Kraal, I galloped off in pursuit of a flock of hartebeests, and as soon as I had dismounted and fired, my horse ran off. In trying to recover him I became completely exhausted, and by

firing a number of shots, as signals to my party, my ammunition was foolishly wasted, when I saw two fine-looking Kaffirs fully armed coming towards me. As great irritation existed between black and white at the time, and as I was entirely at the mercy of these men in a secluded glen surrounded by jungle, I expected to have my brains knocked out, and to be hid in some bush, where I should never be heard of more. They soon reached me with the common salutation, "Goïn dagga," and seemed to ask what I was about. I tried by signs and words to explain my position, and to ask in what direction the Commando had moved. As soon as they understood me, one of them laid down his karos, his knobkerries, and his assagais by my side, and, having made a sign to me to wait on the spot, ran off at full speed, whilst his companion walked off after him. I remained in the most anxious suspense for near three hours, often doubting whether my safest plan would not be to hide myself until dark, and then try to find my companions, when at last I saw this same Kaffir leading some half-dozen mounted Boers towards me. My feelings of the moment I need not now tell you. My horse was soon found and caught ; but in the bustle of our doing so the Kaffir disappeared, and in spite of every exertion that evening at our camp, and among the host of Kaffirs that I subsequently saw near the Chief, I never saw or heard of this man again. A more disinterested trait I never met with, even among the most civilised men.

About the middle of this year (1810) a military detachment, under Major Thomas Lyster, of the Cape Corps, reached Graaff Reinet, which indicated, in connection with my deputation to Hlambe, that some ulterior movement against that Chief was in contemplation. Among the officers of that force were Captain

George Sashwell Fraser and Duncan Macdougall, and Hospital Assistant Menzies, whom I mention by name, as they became very dear friends of mine, and encouraged my preference of a commission in the army to my actual position, and I believe that their discussions with my father were, in a great measure, the cause of this worthy parent telling me a few days after my return from the Zuurveld, "I fear you will never be an efficient clerk, and as you seem better adapted for the service which you have just performed, you have my permission to become a soldier. I shall give you a letter to the Governor, who will be a friend to you if you deserve it." In short, less than a week found me in the Karroo, packed in an ox-waggon, bag and baggage. Lord Caledon received me most kindly, at once applied to the Commander of the Forces, General Gray, in my behalf, and about the middle of January, 1811, I was gazetted, had joined, and was doing duty as Ensign in the Cape Corps, then at Wynberg, though in the Horse Guards no vacancy was found for me before the 12th September next ensuing.

Here then I saw myself for the first time in the great world, my own guide at eighteen, surrounded by strangers of every class, character, and disposition, not one of whom till then knew as much of me as my name, except one, who was both countryman and school-fellow, but had *forgotten* me. However, among so great a number there could not be wanting many generous souls, and soon after my arrival the assistant surgeon, George Glaeser, a Hanoverian by birth, said to me, "Yours is a very dangerous position for any young man. You cannot get on without some friendly advice. Join me in a breakfast mess at my quarters in the hospital: that will be economical for us both, and you will have an old hand to apply to in case of difficulty." Of this offer I

readily availed myself, and poor Glaeser and I remained bosom friends to his dying hour. The adjutant, Mr. Robert Hart, who now in his 83rd year is much stronger in constitution than I am, also showed himself, by some kind warnings, disposed to be on good terms with me. Our intimacy gradually increased, and I believe mutual respect and confidence bind us warmly together to this hour. The next piece of good fortune which befel me was my drawing upon me the notice of the Commanding Officer of the regiment, Colonel John Graham, by some mistake which I had fallen into. He asked me to breakfast, and spoke to me with so much paternal solicitude, that his advice remained deeply impressed on my mind through life, and attached me to my monitor with sincere gratitude. I shall have repeated occasion to refer to subsequent instances of his friendship.

My first care after this change in my career was to write to Colonel Collins, who had left the Colony, and had joined the army in Portugal, begging of him to get me transferred to a regiment under his command. In due course an answer was received that he had obtained the promise of the first vacancy in the 83rd. Colonel Collins's letter is dated from "Castello Branco, le 14 mai 1812," and was addressed to Sir Andries's father; after stating that he had not received their letters, but had been informed by Captain MacDougal of their wishes, he continues :—"J'écrivis aussitôt, là dessus, à Milord Wellington, qui eut la bonté de consentir à ma demande, et dont le secrétaire, Milord Fitzroy Somerset, m'envoya la note ci-incluse m'annonçant que Monsieur votre fils avoit été recommandé, le 9 avril, pour une commission dans le 83<sup>me</sup> Rég<sup>t</sup>., vous sçavez que c'est le mien. Le second Bataillon est actuellement servant en Portugal, sous le commande-

ment du Major Carr, dont je demanderai l'amitié pour votre fils, et qui sera, je ne doute pas, charmé de le voir, si vous pouvez obtenir du Général Cradock sa permission pour le laisser quitter le Cap, ce qu'il accordera sans doute plus facilement, comme de droit, il appartiendra au second Bataillon."

When I showed this communication to Colonel Graham he conveyed my wishes to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Cradock, who had succeeded Lord Caledon and General Grey in this double capacity.

His Excellency sent for me, and in the kindest terms stated that he would be glad to promote the views of my father ; but as the regiment with which I was then serving was for the first time to be sent on active service, the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld being decided on, as Colonel Graham was to command the expedition, and as it was supposed that from my knowledge of the Dutch language and people I might be of great use during the campaign, he (the Governor) thought it would be better for myself that I should go on this service first, and join the army in the Peninsular immediately afterwards. This opinion of course I acted upon, and with the headquarters of the regiment I sailed soon after in the *Upton Castle*, Captain Drighon, for Algoa Bay. There Colonel Graham had arrived before us. My father had come to meet him, and with Major Cuyler the plan of the campaign was discussed. My father obtained the Colonel's consent that he should in person command the Burgers of his district, as they had never acted under military orders before, and he was afraid that, through ignorance, they might get into difficulties, which by his guidance might be avoided. His solicitude for his Burgers, without pretending to be

anything of a warrior, cost him his life. "*God's will be done*," the last words he uttered. I was sent to command a post on the Brak River agter Brintjes Hoogte, and my father proceeded to the Tyumie to satisfy Gaika, that by the movements against the Zuurveld Kaffirs no hostility was intended against himself—to secure that Chief's neutrality, and to obtain from him a promise that the Kaffirs, who would be obliged to quit the Zuurveld, would be permitted to live east of the Fish River. This mission was perfectly successful, Gaika assuring my father that Hlambe and his followers would have nothing to fear as long as they should live peaceably and loyally.

Early in December detachments of Graaff Reinet Burgers began to join me. I was ordered to take the command of them until my father should arrive and then to act as his Aide-de-Camp. I took up a position on the north side of the Zuurberg, at its foot, near the ruins of the farmhouse, from which a Boer of the name of Botha had been driven. There my father soon joined. He received a letter from Colonel Graham suggesting that our left division should unite with the centre on the Kournay, where he then was, unless there existed strong reasons for the contrary. My father said to me, "The Colonel is not aware that great bodies of the Kaffirs who have retired before the right division under Major Cuyler on the Addo, and before the centre, are concentrated in the fastnesses between us, so that if I leave this side of the mountain I expose the Brintjes Hoogte and the adjoining parts of Graaff Reinet to great danger. I shall proceed early to-morrow morning with a strong escort to discuss the matter with him, and you will remain here strictly on the defensive until I return."

That same evening, his last, we were as usual round



our fires in our camp. Any one acquainted with the system of Burger Commandos is aware that at these fires there reigns perfect equality and freedom of speech. The causes and necessity of the war were amply discussed. Some of the elders of the Boers maintained that we were not altogether in the right. A few even protested that they firmly believed that the Kaffirs did buy the Zuurveld from the Dutch authorities, and two or three of them affirmed with oaths that they had seen in certain herds some of the oxen which had been received in payment; some as firmly denied this altogether, and I may here observe that I had previously, and have subsequently heard the allegation as well as the denial a hundred times.

My father had no faith in it, but said, "if even the slightest doubt exist, so much the more is it our duty as Christians and civilised men to try and get this question settled without bloodshed, and if I can manage to get a sight of Habana and Kasa and the other Chiefs on my way to-morrow, I shall certainly do my best to induce them to evacuate the disputed territory under a solemn promise that the strictest enquiry shall be instituted, and that if they can prove the purchase and payment full compensation shall be made. Eight hundred oxen are worth some twenty thousand Rixdollars, and what is this to the mighty British Government in the cause of humanity and justice." He went into his tent and slept for the last time till peep of day, the 28th December, 1811.

After repeating his orders as he drank his last cup of coffee, he shook hands with his usual "God be with you," and as the sun appeared above the horizon, he was half-way up the steep mountain with forty of his picked men, ready to go through fire and water with him. About

two o'clock, P.M., a bushboy, one of the Agterryders "of the escort came running" down the mountain, shouting out in the distance that the whole party was murdered, and that the Kaffirs were coming on in great force to attack the camp. The consternation caused by this information can be imagined, but not described. I at once ordered as many men to mount as could catch their horses. Eighteen were ready in a moment, and deeming it unsafe to take more from the camp with all its ammunition and baggage, I hurried with this small party to try to save some of our unfortunate friends if possible. We did not meet the Kaffir Commando, which the bushboy believed to be close at his heels, before we came close upon the spot where the massacre had taken place. This was on the narrowest part of the Doorn Neck—the watershed between the Wit—Rivier and Kournay. The new Zuurberg Road has cut away the very tree under which my father and his party sat and stood when they met their fate.

The Kaffirs evidently were not aware that I had received notice of what had happened. They had therefore taken time to prepare themselves for the attack of my camp, and were just leaving Doorn Nek, headed by their leaders mounted on their horses, and armed with the guns of the victims whom they had slaughtered, when we crowned the steep ridge which they were ascending. We had the advantage in every respect—they were taken by surprise in open ground, a deep glen separating them from the nearest bush—they were ignorant of our weakness—so that as they retreated in a panic, every shot told upon their dense masses with fatal certainty. They, however, soon rallied, and seeing how few men they were contending with, they tried to cut us off from our camp by taking

possession of the river on which Van Rooyen's house now stands. We cut our way through before they were strong enough to check us, and reached the camp near sunset. Having drawn our waggons into a narrow focus, with the ammunition in the centre, so that they might be better defended by a few men, I expected the attack less anxiously. The enemy seeing us on the *qui vive* retired.

As soon as it was quite dark, so that my movements could not be observed, I again started with a small party for Doorn Nek, in the hopes of finding some of our friends to save. We met, about midnight, the provisional Field-Cornet, Paul du Plessis, one of the most honourable, upright, brave, and respected men in South Africa, afterwards Field-Cornet and Heemraad. He was quite exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and mental suffering. His clothes and his skin were almost quite torn from his body by the thorns through which he had to scramble. He gave us hopes that some of the party had escaped towards the south, but was certain that my father, Field-Cornets Greyling and Potgieter, with several others, had fallen at the first rush, which came from the exterior ranks of the great mass, whilst the parley in the centre appeared to be going on quietly. Many Kaffirs were also killed by those Burgers who had remained on their guard, and he (Du Plessis) had escaped by jumping over a thorn hedge into a dense Kaffir corn-field.

After several hours further search we returned to our camp, where Christian Roberts also arrived during the night, having escaped like Du Plessis, but severely wounded.

On the next day a strong detachment, under the command of my friend Captain Fraser, reached my camp with five-and-twenty of my father's escort, who

had escaped from the massacre and reached Colonel Graham's camp. They had remained outside the crowd, and had time to jump on their horses, but could not fire without destroying friend as well as foe. Fourteen out of the forty-one that had left our camp, exclusive of the bushboy, were now still missing. Their bodies were found on our march to the Kournay, which we were ordered to do, and we buried them not far from the tree already named on the slope inclining eastward.

The feeling and sympathy evinced by Colonel Graham and my brother officers generally, in fact, by the whole army, military and militia, I still remember with deep gratitude. What the former said to me as Commander-in-Chief I need not repeat, as the Government Gazette bears witness of what he must have reported to the Governor, who showed me the warmest friendship ever after.

The whole of the two divisions united marched southward and joined the right division on New Year's Day, 1812. Active operations were continued in the Addo Bush, where, amongst others, the noted Chief Conga was killed unnecessarily, as he was dying of disease and old age.

I mentioned to Colonel Graham that one of my father's motives for wishing to see him was to point out to him the exposed state of the Colony north of the Zuurberg. He replied: "This is just what I want to send you about. The Graaff Reinets now here, have begged of me to leave them under your command; but now I want you to proceed as speedily as possible by the mouth of the Sunday's River round by the Salt-pan's Neck. There you will find the Tulbach contingent coming up. You will take the command of them, march to the upper Bushman's River, where I shall send the Graaff Reinets to join you, so that you will be

strong enough to protect the country you mention, and drive the enemy out of the fastnesses from the Kabooga Poort eastwards." This I accomplished, and next received orders to proceed down the Bushman's River as the other divisions were advancing south of the Zuurberg. At Routenbach's Drift we all united—Major Cuyler with the right marched down the western bank of the Bushman River—Captain Fraser with the centre down the left banks, and I, with the left division, was ordered to scour the Kareiga, the Kowie, and the Fish River jungles down to the western bank and mouth of the latter river.

After several months of hard struggle, the Kaffirs at last saw and felt the necessity of giving way, and they crossed the Fish River accordingly and took possession, with Gaika's consent, of the coast country between the Fish and the Buffalo. Colonel Graham had, in the meantime, pushed forward a detachment of the Cape Corps under Captain MacNeal, with orders to fortify, himself on an old farm called "Nantoo," now "Table Farm," on a weak stream of the same name, which had been recommended to him as well adapted for the military headquarters of the frontier. At the same time I received his order at the mouth of the Fish River to proceed, if the country were clear of Kaffirs, to join Captain MacNeal on the Nantoo, where I should meet him (the Colonel), when he would expect me so thoroughly to have reconnoitred the country as to be able to show him the various localities for military posts. I accordingly reached the Nantoo a few days before the Chief arrived, accompanied by Sir Thomas Arbuthnot and Captain Wallace of the 21st Dragoons. Much work had already been done by Captain MacNeal.

After a few days' rest and reconnoitring the position

Colonel Graham ordered me with a party of my men to escort him over the vicinity. I took him direct to an old farm called Lucas Meyers, which had been abandoned by the owner, and burnt by the Kaffirs; thence he ascended the southern ridge, whence he had a complete view of the coast and the lower part of the Fish River to its mouth. We next returned to the old kraals, examined the springs, then galloped across the flat to the Governor's Kop, then called "Rand Kop," where he had a most extensive view of the Keiskamma, the Tyumie, the Kat, Koonap, and North Kowie Mountains, as well as the upper Fish River as far as Esterhuis Poort. I pointed out to him the exact position of Trompetter's Drift and Hermanus Kraal, but humbly suggested that Meyers was a more commanding position. He objected to the weakness of the water. I knew none stronger in the country. We galloped back to Meyers, then off-saddled and took some refreshment under a tree now near the centre of Graham's Town.

Once more we started, again ascended some high land overlooking the country and the coast, and after some discussion with the members of his staff, the Colonel said: "I prefer this to the Nantoo. It is a pity so much has been done there. At any rate, here we must have our headquarters immediately, and let those old walls" (the ruined burnt remnants of the Boer's house near the tree above noticed) "be covered in for the officers' mess." We then returned to Nantoo.

In the evening Colonel Graham called me into his tent and said: "The principal part of our business is now done. The Burgers will return to their homes and you will return to your regimental duty. What I think of the manner in which you have behaved, you will find in this document, part of which I am going to read to

you." This was a letter which he had received from Sir John Cradock, in which His Excellency, after expressing his satisfaction at the report which the Colonel had made of my character and conduct, added that the people of Graaff Reinet were very anxious that I should be appointed to succeed my father, and that he was sorry it was not in his power to comply, believing that he would be doing a great injustice to the public service, as well as to me, to throw upon the shoulders of so inexperienced a youth responsibilities, of which I must be supposed to understand so little; but that he (the Governor) had determined to appoint me Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, as Lord Caledon once intended.

I expressed my deep sense of so much kindness; but I respectfully requested the Colonel to take into consideration that I was as little fit to be deputy as Landdrost-in-Chief—that I knew nothing of law, of finance, or of administrative matters—that my heart was set on a military career—that I expected every moment to be transferred, to one of the regiments serving with Colonel Collins, and that if the Government conceived that I had rendered any service worthy of notice, they could more than reward me by getting me a Lieutenancy.

If Colonel Graham had been my own brother he could not have shown more solicitude on my behalf than he did when he addressed me in these words: "You must not defeat the Governor's kind views in your favour. He takes a deep interest in your fate; but you are the junior Ensign in the regiment, and cannot with propriety be promoted over the heads of all others. Lord Caledon and Colonel Collins have both been written to since your father's melancholy end, and if they agree with Sir John that as the eldest son you can best serve your family in this Colony, you may be sure that the application for



your transfer to the Peninsula has ere this been recalled. You are not far from twenty. You have common sense enough to decide those questions which are likely to fall under your jurisdiction, and when you find yourself plunged over head and ears in business, you will soon qualify yourself for any Civil office in this Colony. Moreover, your duties as Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet will be very much of a military character. You will command the Burger forces, whenever they have to be called out, which may often happen, as you will be in direct contact with so many bordering tribes. You will be the only military man near. You need not resign your commission in the army, and you have shown in the late operations that you<sup>a</sup> are very well able to manage a Commando. I shall therefore advise Sir John to keep you on full pay."

In spite of my disappointment I expressed the warmest gratitude, which I sincerely felt. The headquarters was soon after established on the spot where it still is ; and I was doing duty there, when I found myself gazetted Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, with orders to proceed to Cape Town.

I parted with my brother officers with the most unqualified regret, and I have particular reasons for here asserting that the feeling was perfectly reciprocal, as was confirmed by Mr. Hart's testimony before a Commission of Enquiry in 1838.

## CHAPTER IV.

1811-1812.

Elder Stockenstrom—Absence of Monument—Purchase of spot in Zuurberg—Popularity—Government notice of death of elder Stockenstrom—Colonel Graham's letter to Widow—Death of C. J. Ryneveld—Pringle's narrative—Letter from Sir John Cradock and instructions to Deputy Landdrost.

THE contents of the previous chapter would be incomplete without some further extracts from the notes written by Sir Andries in 1861-62, and '63, in which his allusions to his father and to Colonel Graham, to Lord Caledon and Sir John Cradock, show how highly he valued and treasured up in his heart the excellent advice of these exalted men, how he appreciated the high responsibilities which thus early in life devolved upon him, and how in private as well as in public life he always made duty the first consideration.

Of his father he writes :—

“My father, with the strongest possible attachment to Governors Janssens and Caledon, whom he knew personally, and still more to the Boers of his day, did not place implicit faith in Governments in general, and felt the most sovereign contempt for the popularity of the moment. When once I complimented him on the affection which the Boers evinced towards him, and the good terms he was on with the Government, he said, ‘Child, do not deceive yourself. These people are naturally well-disposed. My duties happen to be of a popular nature; I am bringing them out of the

anarchy which rebellion has generated, and I am settling their land questions ; but should these circumstances be reversed and things go contrary to their fancy, all my efforts and purity of motives would not protect me against the ingratitude of the people and the Government. Therefore, through life keep on good terms with your conscience and let the rest take its chance.' I believe I have strictly adhered to this advice."

Alluding to his father's death, he writes :—

"The Kaffirs have invariably alleged that the massacre was the result of an instantaneous impulse, and not a preconcerted plot. It was pretended that whilst the discussion was going on in the midst of the great mass, news reached the outside that the war had begun, and that in the Addo a number of Kaffirs had been killed, a shout was set up, and a rush made without consultation. Du Plessis has repeatedly told me since that the subject of discussion, when the rush took place, was the very question of the purchase of the Zuurveld by the Kaffirs from the Dutch authorities.

"I have since my return to the Colony been upbraided for suppressing the following circumstances which appeared to me at first sight rather egotistical. When Colonel Graham appointed me to the command of the Graaf Reinets and Tulbach contingents, I told him that I was very proud, but very much alarmed at the responsibility of such an important command at my age, and at the very commencement of my career. He replied : I told these Boers that you are a boy, but they insist on your commanding them, and I know you will do it well ; go and do your best.' As he spoke a Graaff Reinets Hemraad came riding up, deputed by a number of his fellow-farmers and members of the Board with a

letter to me, desiring me to apply for the ground upon which my father and his fellow victims had fallen, in order that the district might raise a monument to their memory. I immediately communicated the contents of the letter to the Colonel, telling him that I intended to raise a monument myself, but that I should prefer the district doing it. The Colonel at once answered: 'Neither you, nor the district shall do any thing of the kind, it is the business of the Government, and of the whole Colony. Tell this gentleman to take that answer back to those who sent him. I shall by the first post write to the Governor on the subject.' With this answer Graff-Reinett's were satisfied, and Colonel Graham subsequently communicated to me the sentiments of the Governor, which exactly corresponded with his own. The sincerity of these two men nobody ever doubted; but they soon left the Colony, and what was everybody's business, became nobody's business. When Lord C. Somerset was in Graaff Reinet in 1817, the Heemraden spoke to him on the subject, and he expressed himself warmly; but I soon after got out of his favour, as has been shown, and I was too thoroughly disgusted with the self-styled leaders of public opinion and favour, with their Government and all in the matter, ever to condescend to revive it in any quarter, whilst I was in so far a gainer that that wholesome *respect* for popularity which has carried me through life was considerably increased. However, after having left the so-called public, with its rulers, ample time to exhibit a spark of feeling if they could possess it, I one day crossed the Zuurberg, and found there a worthy farmer named Matthews in possession, who on my asking him to sell me the spot in question, nobly replied: 'No, I will not sell you the land, but I will pay you for the

honour which you will confer upon my estate by erecting the monument.' By pressing and persuasion I induced Mr. Matthews to accept a young Fatherland Bull for the right which he ceded to me. At a subsequent period I found the farm in the possession of the brother of this same Matthew, who, on my proposing to him a similar arrangement with reference to the spot where the victims of December, 1811, were *buried*, uttered the same liberal and generous sentiments which had fallen from the brother on the former occasion; but I was then, and have been ever since, too sick to proceed in the matter.

"I have been assured that some leading Patriots had proposed *to honour the name of Stockenstrom* by conferring it on the new Zuurberg Pass. I should think that after fifty years a God Father might more appropriately be found among the *slaughterers* than among the *slaughtered*. This of course will be called 'Anti-Colonial hauteur and slander.' Experience has shown how the fury of the *slaughterers* and their champions is likely to affect me. I love the Colony. I have always been ready to toil for it, and die for it. I am actually at this moment dying for it, particularly for that part of it, whose favourite heroes having disgraced themselves, and the finest and bravest troops in the world by a cowardly flight before naked savages, felt quite willing to call in that help, which was so readily granted, but the sufferings whereof have produced that decrepitude which lays me prostrate, and in compensation for which some of the *Christians*, who had been saved by that help, a few years later destroyed my property to the value of several thousand pounds *expressly because* the barbarian savage was determined to spare it. But whilst I am ready to die for *the Colony*, I am not ready to flatter its blustering upstarts, and care

as little as ever to be flattered by them. Goodness knows I have had my share of hurrahs, and addresses, and testimonials, &c. Among those who thus honoured me there are many, very many whom I esteem and *love*; but in a question of character these demonstrations have been proved, by the history of popularity even in this petty Colony, to be the most hollow of cymbals.

“That very worthy men have been popular cannot be denied; but let any respectable man who understands and possesses *self-respect*, take a list of all the idols which the Cape multitude has bespattered with their cheers, and maddened with their triumphal arches, as far as they can be remembered, and let him ask himself, whether he would condescend to be classed with one out of six. Let the same self-respecting observer view your local Parliament in its present deplorable condition, as depicted by the local prints. Let him take the whole of the proceedings of the closing session of every species from first to last. Let him see such men as De Wet, and Reitz, with so many like them at a discount, whilst others soar like balloons in the atmosphere of stupid popularity, supported aloft by no earthly power, either moral or intellectual, except the irresistible gas of double distilled impudence. Let him reperuse column after column of the most barefaced falsehoods, bellowed forth with the most fluent brutality, and the most notorious facts given the lie to with the most audacious effrontery. Let him wait a little and see how all this outrageous bombast will be echoed and cheered by an ignorant mass, interested in the projected robberies and massacres, and then let him say whether there is such a thing in the Colony as a ‘public opinion,’ capable of turning a man of his stamp, five yards to the right or left! The fact is, that the great body of the people here is as respectable

as any in Her Majesty's dominions. There is among the vast majority a strong under-current of moral worth, virtue, and sense, which exhibit themselves in their unostentatious, retired, domestic habits. Politically it is true they are not of the importance which they might command, because they are often without trustworthy leaders, and therefore without union; but in every essential question involving truth and justice, they may fail to enforce their opinions, but their feelings are immutably in favour of what is right. Now compare this great unobtrusive majority, whom I delight in, with the noisy long-eared braying upstarts who believe that they are made to carry the universe on their backs, and that they do so with success and dignity, and then tell me whether you would expect me, at the end of my days, to move one finger to procure a sort of 'popular demonstration' in favour of my father's memory, when from the same quarter I would not accept of a golden image to be erected to myself when I shall rest in peace. Aye, indeed! give me the approbation of those whom I have just alluded to, without reference to race or station, and you will require no gold or marble to make one exult."

For the character of his father Sir Andries had the most profound respect, and never spoke of him without the most filial affection. That his death was considered a public calamity cannot be doubted. The *Government Gazette* of the 11th January, 1812, contains the following notice thereof by His Excellency the Governor Sir John Cradock:—

"The public will participate in the deep concern, which His Excellency the Governor feels for the severe loss sustained by the Colony, in the death of Mr. Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, whose valuable life has been sacrificed to their interests, in an honourable endeavour to conciliate, by kind and amicable



overtures, a horde of Kaffirs, who, divested of every good principle of Human Nature, and solely instigated by a savage thirst of blood, destroyed in an instant this brave and virtuous magistrate, together with a few comrades, who gallantly adhered to him, when overpowered and unprepared to resist. After indulging the feelings of sorrow and regret that such a misfortune must excite in the settlement, it will be a consolation and satisfaction to the public to be informed, that His Excellency has received the most flattering assurances of the good conduct of the inhabitants employed in the Commandos, upon the few opportunities that have hitherto been afforded them, of manifesting their courage, perseverance, and strict obedience to orders. When the services of men possessed of such qualities, and aided by the regular Military, are directed by judgment and discretion, as under present circumstances, the speedy and favourable result, which His Excellency has every ground to anticipate, cannot fail to be produced :—a result that will ensure to the inhabitants of the frontier the tranquil possession of their houses and properties, and remove from His Majesty's territories a race of beings, deaf to every reasonable proposal (however beneficial to themselves), and who seem only to exist for the annoyance of their neighbours.

“His Excellency has additional satisfaction in announcing to the public the very favourable representation that has been made to him of the conduct of Ensign Stockenstrom (son to the late Landdrost) a communication that cannot fail to be received with pleasure, by a community of which he is a most worthy individual.”

How Colonel Graham was impressed with the conduct of the young ensign may be gathered from the following letter addressed by him to Sir Andries's mother a few months after the melancholy massacre :—

“Westerwood,  
“11th July, 1812.

“MADAM,—I forbore doing myself the pleasure of answering your favour of the 8th inst. until I was enabled to congratulate you on your son's appointment to be Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. I have not yet made application for leave of absence for him to proceed to the Cape, but shall lose no time in doing so, and am confident His Excellency the Governor will accede to my request. Permit me, Madam, to assure you that the conduct of your son during the late trying occasions has been such as to excite a just admiration and confirm the high opinion previously entertained of him by all who knew him. He possesses a strength of mind and warmth of heart rarely to be met with, and particularly at his time of life; if anything can contribute towards rendering less heavy the loss you have sustained, certainly it is the being possessed of such a son, whose chief ambition, to his honor be it spoken, appears to be a faithful discharge of filial and fraternal duty.

“I have the honour to be, Madam,

“Your most obedient and very faithful servant,

(Signed) “JOHN GRAHAM.”

A small pension of £90 per annum was granted by the Government to the widow. Sir Andries in his notes of this period alludes to another great man, the Chief Justice, Mr. van Ryneveld in the following terms:—

“He was a man of great abilities and distinction. He had never been out of the Colony. We have seen what education could then be obtained at the Cape. Yet he raised himself to the highest judicial and civil position, and was generally respected. However, something transpired which has remained buried in mystery ever

since, that made him blow out his brains within a few months after his return from his first circuit to Cape Town. The melancholy end of two such well known men within so short a period created a great sensation in our small community. As a strange coincidence it may be noticed that the Senior Judges of the two next Circuits also ended their career, though by natural death, almost immediately after accomplishing their task."

The reader will find a most accurate and interesting account of the terrible tragedy of the 28th December, 1811, in Pringle's 'Narrative of a Residence in South Africa,' who closes his spirited description of the whole scene with the remark—

"The precise spot where the bodies were interred could not, when I was there, be readily discovered. It is little to the credit of the Colonial Government that not even a rude stone has been erected to mark the grave of this meritorious magistrate, and of those who perished with him in the discharge of duty ennobled by a humane benevolence. Mr. Stockenstrom had been upwards of twenty-five years in the public service of the Colony."

The appointment to which Colonel Graham alluded in his letter to Mrs. Stockenstrom of the 11th July, 1812, viz., that of her son to be Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, was conveyed to him in the following autograph letter by His Excellency Sir John Cradock :—

"Government House,  
"Cape Town,  
"July 15, 1812.

"SIR,—From the representation of Lieut.-Colonel Graham of your good conduct under his command, and the opinion he entertained of your principles and disposition that you would make a just and impartial Magistrate, I have had great pleasure in appointing you

to the situation of Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. The example of your much revered and lamented parent adds to my confidence that you will do honour to the appointment, and that his memory will remain preserved in the succession of the son to his father's virtue.

"As an officer and enlightened Magistrate, I am sure I need not impress upon you the principles of the enclosed (circular) letter lately addressed to the several Landdrosts ; but it is proper to make known that such are the instructions from His Majesty, and that the British Government is resolved to enforce them, if required, throughout all his Dominion. I anxiously add my warmest wishes for the success of all your exertions, and have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

"J. F. CRADOCK.

"Ensign Stockenstrom, &c., &c.

"Deputy Landdrost of Graaff Reinet."

The Circular Letter referred to by the Governor, and addressed by him to the Landdrosts of Swellendam, George, Uitenhage, and Graaff Reinet, was as follows :—

"Government House,

"April 20, 1812.

"SIR,—Upon the perusal of a most able report from the late respected Commission from the Court of Justice, I received the most lively impression that the good order, the prosperity, and the happiness of every district of this Colony, but especially in those most remote from the seat of Government, must principally depend upon the exertions of their Chief Magistrate, the Landdrost.

"It has been my care to place him in the most independent situation, and by setting him above those considerations that might arise from a more limited appointment, leave him at liberty to devote his whole

time and mind to the faithful execution of his important trust.

“In thus addressing you, sir, I have only to follow the instructions I have myself received from His Majesty’s Government, which are to extend to all classes of persons ‘equal justice and equal protection.’ The utmost beneficence and most rigid impartiality are laid down as the rules of my conduct, and as I hope I shall act most scrupulously, not only to the letter, but their liberal spirit, the same with confidence I expect and require from all others, who in the exercise of their share of power have any control in this community.

“We are ever to bear in view that in the dispensation of justice, no distinction is to be admitted, whether the complaint arise with the man of wealth or the poor man, the master or the slave, the European or the Hottentot. The same patient and equal attention is to be paid to the representation, and the most careful enquiry is to ensue—that unbiassed justice follow, I will not entertain the doubt.

“I am desirous to impress that it is not to the greater crimes I so much point your attention (for they but seldom occur, and they from the common sense of danger mostly afford their own remedy), as it is to the lesser description of offences, which from their obscurity and supposed insignificancy, escape observation and punishment. To these I assiduously request your increasing vigilance and prevention.

“It is the uncontrolled severity of the powerful over the weak, so difficult to describe; it is the nameless tyranny of the strong over the defenceless, and the thousand means that the spirit of oppression can employ and which I cannot recount, that fill me with more solicitude, for such persecutions evade the direct inter-

position of the law, and are alone to be remedied by the energy of an active and enlightened Magistrate, intent to advance the progress of true religion and Christianity.

"I have pleasure in confirming what must have already made public impression by the exertions so recently manifested upon the frontier in the expulsion of the Kaffirs, that I have it in command from His Majesty's Government to adopt every measure of improvement of which that distant territory is capable, and from the communications you have so lately received on the subject of churches and schools, you will observe how much His Majesty's Government is interested in the extension of Christianity and education.

"Such defects appear in the former systems of scattered and defenceless habitations, to which none of the arts of civilization, nor the comforts of Society, could find their way, that it will ever remain my wish to more collect the population and afford to them by their concentration that security and those enjoyments which they cannot possess in their present dispersed state.

"I am also anxious that at each Drostdy a most respectable establishment should be encouraged by every inducement, where on the foundations of religion and education, the examples of industry and good order, and the benefits of Society should be held out to public view and imitation, and communicate their resistless influence all around.

"Such are the wishes of His Majesty's Government, and in whatever way they can be best promoted I solicit at all times your advice and assistance,

"I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) "J. F. CRADOCK."

## CHAPTER V.

(AUTOBIOGRAPHY—*continued.*) 1813–1816.

Reception at Graaff Reinet—Landdrost Fischer—Schools—Quit rent tenure—Col. Vickers—Expedition to Kaffraria, 1813—Gullibility of Boers—Cradock established—Governor visits Graaff Reinet—Death of A. du Toit—Gazetted Lieutenant, 1814—Lord C. Somerset—Gazetted Landdrost of Graaff Reinet—Welcomed by Heemraden—Rebellion of Bezuidenhout—Hendrik Prinsloo—Tragic finale—Murder of Hottentot by Boer—Murderer executed—Van der Graaff's story of Stockenstrom's bearding the Rebels.

MY reception by the excellent Graaff Reinettters of the old school, when they saw me for the first time after my father's death, can now be remembered by but few ; and in Cape Town the Governor, my Colonel, the Colonial Secretary, and others, with the kindest sympathy, used every means to provide me with information and instruction for my official guidance. All this, of course, was due exclusively to my father's memory, for I was indeed a young beginner, and a very uncouth one ; nor had that monster Envy as yet any very great loss to complain of. It was true I was a lucky fellow, with two strings to "his bow, civil and military, whilst some of the *first families* in the Colony could not get their sons employed ; but then what is it, after all, to live among semi-barbarians, and gallop after savages, upon twelve hundred rix-dollars, and a miserable ensign's pittance ? So let that pass." However, I was happy among my semi-barbarians.

It is true that strong prejudices existed against Lord



Caledon's Proclamation of 1809 concerning the Hottentots, which it became my duty to enforce, and it is equally true that this often brought me into collision with some very good people ; but I always found myself supported by the sense and equity of the influential classes, with whom I often discussed the point for hours, not only in the office, but in their own houses, for my duties always kept me on the move amongst them, and they were easily made to see and admit what the aboriginal tribes had lost through our progress, and how much it became our duty to mitigate their sufferings. Without this support I could not have gone on a single month.

The theory which makes the blacks irreclaimable savages, fit only to be exterminated, like the wolves, was not of Boer origin. We had possessed ourselves of their lands ; we wanted more of their land, together with their services. Oppression had been going on for a century and a half ; but we did not oppress for mere oppression's sake. The refinement of our system was due to what Mr. Commissioner Bigge long after truly called "Your pupils, who were such apt scholars, that they soon became your masters." It never entered the imagination of the simplest of the Boers to deny the oppression, knowing that he could not take a step without crossing ground of which those he holds in bondage were once the free and contented owners. The reflecting part (that is many) of the old population regretted the evil, but could not see a remedy. It remained for their "pupil-masters," by the most barefaced impostures, to fish for their favour and their money by teaching them to look upon those as their enemies and libellers who dared admit the notorious historical fact of the extermination of a comparatively defenceless race. It may

be undignified to waste indignation upon these self-constituted champions of South African purity. Nobody envies them the lucre with which they are gorged ; but no sincere friend of the Dutch Boer can look without commiseration upon the dupes thus fleeced.

Mr. Fischer was the chief Landdrost of the district, a most excellent man, with a most amiable family. He behaved to me like a friend indeed. We served together for near three years like brothers, and parted with the warmest attachment.

In 1813, Sir John Cradock's great move for the improvement of education and of land tenures was made. I was specially charged in one of my circuits through this extensive district to procure subscriptions towards the school funds, and to explain the advantages of "perpetual Quit Rent" over that of "Loan." How much the Graaff Reinet farmers appreciated both these great boons can be seen by the liberality of their contributions towards the former, as published in the *Government Gazette*, and by the numerous petitions for land which forthwith poured into the Colonial Office.

About this time Colonel Vickers was appointed Commissioner-General in the place of Colonel Graham, who went home. The Kaffirs had made themselves very troublesome since their expulsion from the Zuurveld. The Governor came to the frontier in person, and ordered Colonel Vickers to cross the Fish River with a strong Commando to inflict severe chastisement on the marauders. I was called upon to join with a Burger Division of my district. The Governor was occupied in Uitenhage and Graham's Town, whilst the Colonel advanced as far as Van Aardt's on the Great Fish River. There I found him very ill, so that the expedition was carried out under the orders of Captain Fraser. No great things

were done ; but three circumstances connected with this campaign are worth recording.

1st. When we were on the point of taking the field, it was reported to the sick chief that it would be wrong to imperil the life of Captain MacNeal (one of our force), as he was in possession of some important discovery.

After a discussion with Colonel Vickers the Captain was directed to remain behind, and when the Governor arrived he considered the matter of sufficient importance to induce him to give Captain MacNeal leave to go to England, which he did without delay. *Perpetual motion* was reported to be the discovery—but certainly, *something* must have been discovered, for I was subsequently informed that the Captain did receive compensation for it.

2nd. When I had reached with my commando as far as “Baviaans River,” and encamped at the “Botmans Gat,” I received a glaring proof of the susceptibility of the simple unsophisticated Boer of the most palpable impostures. For many years there prevailed a deep-rooted suspicion that the Government were very desirous to kidnap the young male inhabitants, and to force them into the military and naval service. In the middle of the night, lying under a bush, I was wakened by some stir, and raising my head, saw the whole of my force, about five hundred strong, instead of being all (except the sentinels) fast asleep, sitting on their haunches in the circular position in which we had encamped, holding their unholstered guns between their knees ready for fight. I started up and called the senior officer under me, Abraham Pretorius, to explain. He simply said, “We are now near the Kaffirs, and must be on our guard.” I told him that it was nonsense to harass the men, and to render them unfit for work by day, and

desired that he should send them to sleep. I again crept under my blanket, and so did most of the men by degrees.

Sometime after our return to our homes, Pretorius, laughing, said to me, "Do you recollect such and such a night, and do you know why you found us all on the alert?" He then added, "We were fools enough to believe the report which had got abroad, that the Expedition against the Kaffirs was a mere pretext for getting us to collect in numbers so that we might be surrounded in our camp at night and marched to Algoa Bay, and be there embarked; we were therefore determined to keep watch every night, and die to the last man rather than surrender." When I asked him how he and his people could believe that I would lend myself to such a plot, he said, "You know the Boer will believe anything when he gets bewildered, and when they reminded each other that you yourself were a military man, all doubt vanished from our minds."

3rd. It was during this campaign that I committed the murder, of which I was accused five-and-twenty years later, as will be seen hereafter. Be this as it may, Fraser made his report, and I received the warmest thanks of the Governor and the Commissioner-General for my services.

The Governor had to decide on the place of my residence. Colonel Vickers recommended the Kaga, now Maasstrom, and Bedford. Mr. Fischer preferred Dirk Coetzee's farm on the little Fish River, some twelve miles above the present Somerset, and I proposed either Groot-Fontein, immediately near what is now Middelburg, or Piet van Heerderis, where Cradock now stands. I preferred the latter, because I had found it till then most central and convenient for public business, and I

had therefore passed my time, when not on duty in other parts, in this neighbourhood.

The Governor examined the best map then in existence, rejected the first-named locality because it was at the extreme corner of the District, which the Deputy Landdrost was to control, the second and third because they were too near Graaff Reinet, and he travelled fifty miles with his staff and myself to inspect the fourth in person. He was most minute in his enquiries before he fixed the Residency where it now stands, and sanctioned its being named after himself. From Cradock the party proceeded by Wagenpad's berg to Graaff Reinet, everywhere treated with the utmost hospitality and respect. The Governor remained in the latter town about a week, during which time my chief, Mr. Fischer, exerted himself to the utmost for the benefit of his District. His Excellency was pleased to take a particular interest in my qualifications, for the office into which he had perhaps prematurely plunged me. He was incessantly questioning me on my views with reference to public matters generally, but especially as to the treatment of the coloured classes ; and when, on one occasion, I said that it struck me that the greatest injury that could be inflicted on those classes would be to make them the object of a special policy, or rather a special patronage, which would excite the jealousy and hatred of those who had it in their power to vex them in spite of all Government, so that I thought strict and equal justice at all cost was the only safe course, Sir John, rising from his seat, said, "That is the secret ; you have it." I ought here to observe that my opinions were thus early fixed on the subject by conversations which I had had with my father in consequence of some warm discussion between Major Cuyler and Dr. van der

Kemp, at which we had been present. His Excellency complimented me on the contents of my library, adding that he was glad to see the *Edinburgh Review*, of which there were many numbers, so well fingered ; but I was sorry to be obliged to admit that the damage was not done by me, as the work had shortly before been given to me by my reading friend, Dr. Menzies. "At any rate," said his Excellency, "you read ; and by all means do not think it beneath you to read the Police Reports in the London papers, for they give a good idea of the system of administration of justice in the mother-country."

I mention these trifles merely in grateful remembrance of the kind solicitude evinced in behalf of a young man, an utter stranger, without the least claim beyond the services of a father. Seeing my brother Oloff at my table, he said, "What do you intend to do with that young man?" I replied that he was trying to farm. "Make a soldier of him. I shall recommend him to the first vacancy in the Cape Corps, to which every young gentleman born in the Colony has a right to aspire." My mother and sisters shed tears of thanks which I had not the power to utter.

The Governor returned to Cape Town through the Karroo. As he was leaving Graaff Reinet the Burgers as usual gave him a grand salute, in the midst of which the gun of one of them burst and fearfully lacerated one of his hands. This was poor Andries du Toit. His Excellency at once sent an express to the frontier for the nearest military surgeon, but before he arrived mortification had ensued, and the poor fellow died.

It became my duty to accompany the Governor to the boundary of the district, which was upwards of two hundred miles distant ; but he insisted on my returning

from the Camdeboo River, and in taking leave he said, "Now take care of yourself. You have made a fair start, and from what Vickers and Fraser have reported of your conduct on the late expedition, I am more convinced of the necessity of keeping you on full pay. You may at any time be called into the field, and I shall feel myself justified in recommending you for a lieutenancy, so that if the Civil Service prove a failure, you will have an alternative, but you will have to work hard. You have no sinecure."

I was gazetted Lieutenant on the 7th June following (1814), with several of my brother Ensigns, and the same *Gazette* put my brother in my place as Ensign.

The year 1814 was spent, besides my ordinary magisterial duties, in setting myself down at Cradock and visiting and tranquillising some hordes of Bushmen near the Northern and Eastern borders, who were suspected of hostile intentions. In the meantime Sir John F. Cradock had been succeeded by Lord C. Somerset, as Governor, and I received a note suggesting the propriety of my paying my respects to his Lordship without unnecessary delay. I proceeded to Cape Town, and was there detained from week to week, being repeatedly called to Government House and the Colonial Office, and so closely questioned by the Governor or Colonial Secretary, sometimes by both together, as to the state of the District, the feelings of the people, our relations with the bordering tribes, and my notions of political, judicial, and financial matters,—an ordeal which Sir John Cradock had already made me undergo, that I could not help asking the late Mr. Henry Auret of the Colonial Office, who was the right-hand man of Colonel Bird, and with whom through his connection with my kind friend Mr. Ziervogel, I was very intimate, what it could all mean.



Auret said, "There must be something in the wind, but I have seen nothing official. I only know that you have been strongly recommended in England by Lord Caledon and Colonel Collins, as well as by Sir John Cradock and Colonel Graham, and I suppose the présent rulers wish you to find out what you are fit for." However, I was preparing to return to Cradock, when on Saturday morning the 12th May, 1815, I received, before I was out of bed, from Mr. Auret, the Government *Gazette* of that day, by which I found myself appointed Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Mr. Fischer removed to Tulbagh, and Mr. John van der Graaff to succeed me as Deputy.

I was indeed agreeably surprised, but at the same time alarmed, and in thanking the Governor and the Colonial Secretary I told them so. I was, however, greatly cheered when they almost in the same words with Mr. Ziervogel said, "You can only do your best, and if you then fail you may yet pursue your military career without cause for being ashamed." The Governor told me, "Your successor, Mr. van der Graaff, is not a military man, you will therefore still have to command the Burgers of your District when they are called out to take the field. I agree with Sir John Cradock and Colonel Graham that you must be kept on full pay."

Surprise indeed was general,—in many cases, I am proud to admit, combined with the warmest sympathy and sincerest congratulations, in many more of course was surprise without either pleasure or envy, and in some, as might be expected, it was remembered that my father "was not an Englishman, nor a Dutchman, nor even Cape born; he was a Swede, and could have no such claim in this Colony, whereas there are several Colonial families well known to all the British Governors, amongst whom surely some competent member might

have been found to administer the arduous, complicated, administrative, financial, judicial, and military functions in a territory embracing one-third of the Colony, with a suspicious, half-contented population, and a frontier bordering for some five hundred miles on various hostile tribes without one soldier to protect it, instead of throwing such an awful responsibility on the shoulders of an inexperienced, uneducated youth of twenty-two. It is not denied that the father did some good service, when Swellendam was in a disturbed state, and again in Graaff Reinet, and he was killed by the Kaffirs, but that was his own fault. What business had he with forty men to go among a thousand barbarians, and that can be no plea for throwing the country into chaos and confusion which must happen."

All this was literally true, but I left the said "well known Colonial families" to settle disputes with the said Government, and proceeded to the field of my labours, though under very gloomy misgivings, especially as succeeding so worthy and so popular a man as Mr. Fischer; but my reception by the Graaff Reinetters, who had then known me for years as a public functionary and a private individual, confirmed my belief that such a community might be controlled by common sense, honesty, and a disinterested zeal in the promotion of their welfare, and whatever I may have deserved of the compliments, which have been paid me on the success of my administration as Landdrost, is altogether due to the fact that I had to deal with what my father called "a naturally well-disposed people," who were contented with simple justice and equity, even if unaccompanied by very profound learning and ingenuity.

To the six Heemraden then in office above all I owe everything next to Heaven, and I know the country to

be so deeply indebted to these humble unpretending Boers, that I take pleasure in recording their names—Jan Bastiaan Rabie, Schalk Willem Burger, Jacobus Stephanas van Heerden, Louis van Wyk, Hendrik Adriaan Meintjes, and Jan Barend van Blerck—who were present to receive me. They came to me in a body, and told me without fuss, but with simplicity and dignity, that they had the most perfect confidence in me, from what they had seen in me in my inferior post, and that they had every wish to transfer to me the affection which they had borne my father, that they felt they had a great deal to learn from me, but that there were also some things that I might learn from them, that among these were the wants and feelings of the people, and that they trusted they would always be heard on the public interests whether they differed or agreed with me. I assured them that these sentiments were quite reciprocal, and that in case of difference they would have a free appeal to a just and impartial Government.

By law, two of the Board went out annually, but could be re-elected. Several others, consequently, came in from time to time, mostly men of the same stamp. There is not one of the Graaff Reinets Heemraden now living, unless it be that excellent man David Naudé. To the last they remained true to their original pledge; they never shrank from their opinions when they differed with me, and then I generally found them right. The majority of the field-cornets were similar characters, when still it was an honour to hold that office for its own sake. With such coadjutors there was no insuperable difficulty in giving full effect even to the obnoxious Hottentot law, as I shall soon have occasion to show. The quit rent system was carried out to the fullest

extent, and by far the greatest part of the district subdivided into farms, and allotted to claimants with the most conflicting interests, without ever ground for one single complaint having been left. The disposal of the local resources under the most minute scrutiny never offered cause for the remotest criticism, and even the great bugbear, "the Commando system," was strictly restrained within the bounds of self-defence.

With such experience of the system of Landdrost and Heemraden, it is not surprising that I should have hailed with so much delight its revival under the new constitution by that enlightened patriot, Mr. Reitz.\* It was, in fact, quite as valuable a boon as the Constitution itself, and will, when duly understood, developed, and appreciated, cause the author to be gratefully remembered as long as freedom and liberal government shall be understood and cherished.

Hardly had I entered upon my new duties, when I found in my way a stumbling-block of some standing. A knot of desperadoes had squatted themselves down high up the Baviaans River, in close contact and communication with the Kaffirs, yet strictly within the Colonial borders, but determined to set all law at defiance. One of these, named Frederick Bezuidenhout, having cruelly ill-treated a Hottentot, and being peculiarly hostile to the late enactment which protected this man, refused either to give redress, or to appear before any authority to answer for his conduct, having insulted the judicial messenger who was sent to summon him, and threatened to treat even the Governor as he had treated the plaintiff if he should come near him.

The Board had no hesitation in deciding that the law should be upheld ; but as, from the known character of

\* The allusion is to the establishment of Divisional Councils.—C. W. H.

the party to which Bezuidenhout belonged, it was feared that very firm measures would be required; it was resolved, in order to avoid all precipitation or flaw in legal forms, to prosecute the case before the Circuit Court. This was done, and as the defendant persevered in contumacy, a decree of imprisonment for contempt was issued. The under-sheriff was sent to arrest the condemned, with authority to apply to the nearest military officer in case of necessity.

The latter extreme became unavoidable, as it was known that the culprit had fortified himself with plenty of fire-arms and ammunition in a cave near his house. True to his vow, he fired upon the officials as soon as they came within range, but fell himself a victim to his desperation. At his funeral vengeance was sworn: the immediate vicinity was soon in a blaze. A ring-leader, Hendrik Prinsloo, wrote a letter to one Jacobus Kruger, calling upon him to rouse the country to rebellion. This letter was intercepted and handed to the authorities by my Field-Cornet, Stephanas van Wyk, who forthwith handed it to Deputy Landdrost, Van der Graaf, to whose zeal and ability justice has never been done. Prinsloo was promptly seized by Captain Andrews. The conspirators, among whom there were some very worthy though misguided men, assembled and besieged Captain Andrews' post, demanding the prisoner, but soon found themselves compelled to surrender to Major Fraser, because they saw the mass of the population without sympathy in their cause.

This state of public feeling was entirely due to the boundless support which I received from the Heemraden, who from first to last boldly declared that "*there would be no living in the land if the strongest was to be master,*" and incessantly exerted themselves to bring the field-

cornets and the other influential farmers to the same view. Of course, the opportunity was too good to be lost by certain prophets, to remind the world that they had predicted that that stupid boy "would throw the country into chaos and confusion;" but the echo died away within their own small circle. More need not be detailed here on this melancholy transaction, for a regular deliberate trial ensued before a special commission of the Court of Justice, a report of which is in print, and the result whereof, was that six of the rebels were sentenced to death, and others to lesser punishments which were soon forgotten.

After the surrender to Major Fraser by the rebels, two of the ringleaders, Johannes Bezuidenhout and Cornelis Fabre, with their families and two or three more, fled towards the upper Key, but were overtaken by the Major on the northern side of the Winterberg. They placed themselves in a position of defence under their waggons. One of the soldiers, by whom they were surrounded, having ventured within range, entreating them to surrender, was shot dead on the spot. The fire was of course returned. Bezuidenhout's wife reloading the guns as they were discharged, kept encouraging her husband and brother Fabre not to surrender, until at last Bezuidenhout fell dead riddled by bullets, and she and Fabre were seized dangerously wounded, as well as her son, a boy about twelve, slightly.

In the midst of this fight Major Fraser's horse fell with him, causing the Major a compound fracture of one arm. The services of this officer, as well as those of Captain Andrews, in this rebellion, as it was called, were beyond all praise, and I think have never been sufficiently acknowledged. I have somewhere mislaid a paper copied from a letter of Deputy Landdrost, Van der

Graaff, to his father-in-law, Mr. Fisher, giving an account of some part of this disturbance.

Five out of the six condemned rebels were executed under the most heartrending circumstances, as four of the ropes broke, and the tragedy had to be re-enacted upon the four unhappy wretches imploring mercy within view of a number of their relatives, including the widow Bezuidenhout, who was sentenced to witness the execution. The sentence of the sixth culprit condemned to die was commuted to banishment. Whether all this severity was absolutely necessary is a question which has often been asked, and which I am neither disposed nor competent to enter upon now ; but every lover of truth will admit that from that moment the power of the law has been paramount in the Colony, and those who have the slightest idea of the state of the country during the commotions against the Dutch and English Governments, will be disposed to agree with the Heemraden of Graaff Reinet.

As the whole affair from first to last, particularly the closing scene of horror, had made a most awful impression upon me, I again and again, as occasion offered, entered into the most confidential discussion with those men who were still more closely connected with the victims than I was, as to whether anything could have been done to prevent the crash, and the conclusion was invariably with deep sorrow—"No, it was a struggle between might and right—a choice between order and civilization on the one hand, and a return to the days of Woeke and Maynier, Breslar, Van der Poel, and Gerotz on the other"—so thought Lord C. Somerset, as will be seen by-and-by.

This storm clouded part of 1815 and 1816. As a matter of precaution, a troop of the 21st Dragoons,



under Captain Leckie, and a company of the 83rd Foot, under Major Somerfield, were stationed at Graaff Reinet, but were soon found unnecessary, and withdrawn ; and I must not lose this opportunity to give an additional proof that the great majority of the Boer population was not opposed to equal justice to black and white, when they are correctly informed and honestly influenced. Some years later a poor miserable Hottentot was murdered by a member of a very respectable Burger family. It became a most painful duty to prosecute him ; great sensation prevailed ; but he was taken and conducted to prison by Boer field-cornets, found guilty upon Boer testimony, and executed in the midst of a Boer armed force under my orders, when there was not a single soldier or bayonet within one hundred miles, without my ever having received a single cross look from those who were bewailing the tragedy in tears, whilst they joined in the general admission that justice had been done.

Before closing this chapter, which recounts so graphically and so feelingly the story of the rebellion of Bezuidenhout, Prinsloo, and others, it will greatly interest the reader to know that the letter from Deputy Landdrost, Van der Graaff, to Landdrost Fischer, alluded to by Sir Andries, was subsequently found ; it is in the Dutch language, which renders it necessary to furnish a translation as follows :—

*Extract.*—VAN DER GRAAFF TO FISCHER.

“When Fredrik Bezuidenhout was buried, the Bellwethers swore at his grave that they would not lay down their arms until they had avenged the last drop of blood, and that like lions and tigers they would tear the Landdrost to pieces with their teeth. Opperman informed Stockenstrom of this, and advised him to remove as quickly as possible to Cape Town. What did he do ? When the lot broke loose, when the Mullers delivered

to Stephanas van Wyk the letter which Prinslo had addressed to Kruger, and Van Wyk had delivered the same to the Government, Stockenstrom, instead of flying westward, had his horses saddled, and journeyed as he was wont with a single after-rider to the Tarka, where he was informed that the disaffected Boers were assembling. On the 'Wagenpadsberg' he was met by the Heemraad, Louis van Wyk, who was going to Graaff Reinet for the express purpose of informing him of his own and the country's danger. Van Wyk, as he himself has told me, besought the Landdrost to return, but received for answer, whilst the Landdrost applied the sjamboek to his horse, 'It is better that half-a-dozen of them break my neck and get hanged for it, than that the mischief grow into a sea of blood, and hundreds become widows and orphans.' Late in the night he arrived at Cradock with old Van Wyk. I immediately informed my master that the Boers were furious. He said, 'Commandeer fresh horses; I will give them immediate satisfaction, if it is in my power to do it.' The horses were at hand. I told him that I had shortly before received information that the Field-Cornet van Wyk had joined a number of Boers, who were assembled at the farm of Piet Venter in the Tarka. Thither the Landdrost hastened alone. The Field-Cornet says, 'When I saw the fellow approaching on a panting steed, I was in the utmost perplexity, for the Boers were at that moment furiously abusing him; but he dismounted in the midst of them, and before he had, in his own way, scolded them for one hour, he had non-plussed the whole lot of them, and everything was reversed. While he was having a chat and a cup of tea with old Aunt Venter, I took my people further in hand, and when he left I could add, with tears in my eyes, "Thank

God that you came, for I can now rely upon my whole district, with the exception of one." This exception was Johannes Botha, who afterwards was thoroughly brought to his senses. We were, in the meantime, at Cradock in a state of the greatest uneasiness, until about sunset we saw the Landdrost approaching on his jaded horse again alone. He had never closed an eye from the time of his leaving Graaff Reinet. Ali immediately took good care of him; and you can imagine that it was late the following morning before he put in an appearance. Then we had an amusing scene. Old Kruger, to whom the intercepted letter of Prinsloo was addressed, had probably heard something. He came as usual with his after-rider, and his gun on his shoulder. There were a large number of persons standing about my door. When he dismounted and shook hands with the Landdrost, the latter said, 'Good-day, Kruger; but how is it possible that the whole country is in an uproar without you?' Instead of indignantly repudiating this insinuation, the old well-known *patriot* coolly and instantly replied, 'Good Heavens, sir; you never let me know anything about it!' The whole company burst out laughing. When this ceased, the Landdrost said, 'Well, Kruger, you see you are too late, so you must now help to restore order.' 'Yes, sir,' was the immediate reply; 'you know that you can always depend upon me; uproar or peace, we too are always on one side.' The gladness then lasted some minutes, and more than one Boer exclaimed, 'No, sir; Uncle Cobus is too slippery for you to-day.' Meanwhile, I believe that Uncle Cobus did thereafter do his best to bring his friends to understand that nothing was to be gained by uproar, for from that moment Cradock was quiet.

"Gert Coetzee and Hendrik Meintjes have assured me

that it was exactly the same in Zwagers Hoek. There the chief Patriots had assembled at their greatest Leaders and Advocates, the Field-Cornet Greyling's when Meintjes informed the Landdrost of this, 'Saddle up' was the reply—within an hour he was on the way—Meintjes accompanied him of his own accord. They stopped at Coetzee's only half the night. Before daylight Stockenstrom and Meintjes resumed their journey. Coetzee went with them. At Grylings\* Red-beard was coldly received, but he went at once to drink coffee with Aunt Gryling. Uncle Abram then said to us, 'What do you say now about the state of the country; this comes of the English Government placing such a territory in the hands of naughty youngsters, who are not yet dry behind their ears.'† Brother Hendrik then quietly asked, 'Have you felt behind the ears of this naughty youngster?' 'No,' was the reply; 'but he will now be felt,' and Uncle stormed with his swarm of Patriots to the coffee table—there the bomb exploded. The Field-Cornet began, and was well seconded by the oldest of the leaders of the people. Everything was brought up, beginning with the days of Woeke and Maynier to the death of Bezuidenhout, with frightful prognostications for the future. This lasted till dark. Stockenstrom did nothing the whole time, but looked steadily in the eyes of the speakers, one after the other, till the last voice was silent. Then he broke loose—shot after shot—explosion and conquest—flooring them all. I wish I could relate what I heard that night, but before we went to bed, the last man was speechless as they themselves said, and the following morning Uncle Abram was obliged to acknowledge, 'He

\* A nickname for the Landdrost.

† A Dutch idiom for "fledged."

is dry.' These are Coetzee's own words adding, 'God knows what would have become of our district if the fellow had allowed himself to be frightened.' I told the Governor all this when he was in Graaff Reinet in 1817. He said he knew it all and more too, and that he had written in the strongest terms about it to the Secretary of State."

*Note.*—An admirably detailed account of this sad rebellion and tragedy will be found in Pringle's 'Narrative of a Residence in South Africa,' compiled by him from the official records and from the accounts given him by the Magistrates and many of the Boers themselves, published in 1835.

## CHAPTER VI.

(AUTOBIOGRAPHY—*continued.*) 1817.

Lord C. Somerset visits Frontier, 1817—Expedition to Gaika—Patrol or reprisal system—Commando system—Example of Lourens Erasmus—Langa Shot—Cause of D'Urban War—Glenelg system—Missionary Williams—Governor visits Boschberg and Graaff Reinet—Interviews Boers—Instructs Landdrost to secure grant of land—Libertas selected—Grant to Widow Stockenstrom—Placed on half-pay—Libertas not granted—Libertas purchased—Klip Kraal and Nandé's Hoek purchased—Visits Cape Town—Entertained at Newlands—Frontier alarm—Return to Frontier.

IN 1817 Lord Charles visited the Frontier for the first time. I received orders to meet him on the Fish River with a Burger force. I did so, and was kindly received by the Governor, who was accompanied by his two daughters, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, and Doctor James Barry. We crossed the Fish River—the whole force under Colonel Cuyler with Major Fraser as second in command, all the Burgers being placed under my orders. No hostilities were intended, but it was deemed politic to inspire the Kaffirs with a high idea of His Excellency's power and dignity.

We marched straight to the Kat River and formed our camp on the right bank, in the flat about a mile above what is now Fort Beaufort, and about as much below where then the late Missionary Williams had taken up his abode. The Chief, Gaika, had been invited to wait upon the Governor with his great Chiefs and Councillors. He came escorted by a strong force, but seeing our

display, halted in the poort above the Missionary School. Fraser and I were sent to remove his suspicions and conduct him into the camp. This we did, each supporting him by an arm.

The Governor received him and his suite with great dignity and kindness. His Excellency being supported on his right by the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bird, and on his left by the Military Commandant and Landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, as his chief Councillors.

The new plan of frontier defence which had been previously matured in Grahams Town, and which subsequently obtained the name of "Patrol or Reprisal system," was then submitted to the Kaffirs. My part in the transaction was to interpret from the English into the Dutch. The Kaffirs were told that thence forward whenever cattle were carried off by any of their race from the Colony, the loser would proceed directly to the nearest post, procure a patrol, and follow the spoor up to the first kraal to which it should lead, and there demand compensation, and if this should be refused take as many cattle from that kraal as would compensate the loser, leaving the kraal to obtain redress through their own chief from the real thieves.

I expressly abstain from entering more into detail on this subject, because it has been amply discussed before Parliamentary committees, and can be found in the blue-books, but as this "Patrol and Reprisal system" has been *justly* questioned, and unnecessarily become matter of angry controversy, I think it right to observe that there could not have been found at the time men more deeply interested in, or more anxious to promote the welfare of the Colony than the authors of that system, the Governor, the Colonial Secretary and the Frontier Military Commandant. The argument with which they



backed their plan proved their conviction that it was just and equitable to the Kaffirs as well as to the Colonists, and subsequently at my table in arguing the point with Mr. Sheridan, who, being merely a fellow-traveller, could only give his private opinion, and who denounced the arrangement as unfair to the Barbarian, I have repeatedly heard his Lordship declare that if he could believe that one single calf would be taken from the Kaffirs unjustly he would at once countermand the arrangement.

For my own opinion I must refer to the above blue-books, and other official documents, for I have been too deeply involved in the controversy referred to, to expect to be accepted as an unbiassed witness—but I think this the proper place to point out the nature of the “Patrol and Reprisal System,” and the “Commando System,” about which volumes have been written by scribblers, who never had an idea what the terms meant.

I must begin with the severely denounced “Commando System,” justly denounced, because it is liable to be grossly abused, as it has been often abused, but essentially and in its origin it is a *defensive* system, whereas the other system is essentially *aggressive*. Under the former system the border Colonist was expected and assumed to have his flocks under his eye, and guarded, and he was not allowed to indemnify himself for losses by taking anything from the aggressor. A Commando would consequently never be profitable to him. He had the trouble, the fatigue, the expense, and the danger, but he could bring nothing back except the identical property which had been taken from him. In defence of his life and goods (unless they could be secured for trial by the legal tribunals), he might even kill the assailants. He might pursue them on the instant alone, or with the help of his neighbours; but he could not continue that

pursuit beyond the frontier without the Field-Cornet, or his deputy, who became responsible, and, except in cases of emergency, even that officer required the authority of the Landdrost, who, if there was time, had to apply for the sanction of Government. There was a time when a farmer would have been ashamed to have Kaffir cattle in his herd. They would raise suspicion as to the manner in which they had been obtained, for trade in cattle was not allowed. This was bad political economy, but the object of the prohibition was salutary.

That this system might be and was abused I emphatically repeat. Unnecessary as well as unavoidable bloodshed might take place. It might happen that, if even the stolen property could easily be retaken, blood might be shed from motives of revenge or for the purpose of making prisoners, but this could be checked by having it known as an invariable rule that every collision of the above character becomes immediately the subject of strict judicial investigation, in which such prisoners might be witnesses, so that wanton cruelty was sure to be exposed. It must be remembered that I am not here speaking of Commandos upon a great scale, sent out in times of open war. I allude to the ordinary powers, exercised by the local authorities in case of emergency.

Now take the "Patrol or Reprisal System." The farmer misses his cattle ; he may honestly believe, or he may pretend that the Kaffirs have taken them, and reports the loss to the nearest military post. The officer in command gives him a patrol, which accompanies him on the "spoor," which the commander of the patrol, and perhaps he also believes to be, that of the lost or stolen cattle. I have heard it maintained that the farmer is never mistaken on this point, and that an officer, after having been for some time on the

frontier, cannot be imposed upon. This I deny. I have passed the greatest part of my life on this service, and cannot trust to my judgment in the matter, and I shall just now give you an instance, of which there have been many, to prove how the most expert spoor-seekers can be deceived. At any rate, a spoor being found, which in a country covered with thousands of cattle is no wonder, it is the spoor of course. Off gallops the plundered owner, with the patrol after him, until they pounce upon a kraal, where "*the thieves and liars by nature pretend that they know nothing of any stolen cattle.*" The women and children running panic-struck, howling and screaming, into the kloofs and jungles. Compensation having been demanded, and refused on the plea of innocence, the patrol collects the cattle belonging to the kraal. Ten fine colonial oxen were stolen, each one of which was worth at least five of these miserable Kaffir beasts, and off away homewards goes the successful patrol and its guide, with fifty or sixty of these beasts, telling the headman of the kraal that he must find the thief, and obtain compensation through his chief. Resistance leads to bloodshed ; whether the barbarians thus plundered starve is no business of ours.

But suppose after all this *equitable reprisal*, or rather, after all this robbery, starvation, and perhaps slaughter, we find on the return of the patrol that the ten fine colonial oxen had, by their owner's neglect, got into the pound, or had been driven by wolves or colonial thieves far in an opposite direction from Kaffirland, or that the claimant for compensation is suspected of never having possessed oxen at all, who indemnifies the kraal, and what do you say of the children that may have perished for want of milk, being too young to seek and live upon wild berries and roots? Or figure to yourself a thief

driving the stolen booty by night through, or near a kraal, with the view of misleading the patrol, and then going in a different direction.

The argument is that the men of the kraal can pursue the spoor farther, and will soon overtake the thief. This is very questionable. At any rate, it is monstrously unjust that this kraal should be disturbed at all, and that the whole country should be kept in hot water because I, living near what I am pleased to call thieves and "liars by nature," choose to insist upon letting my flocks run unguarded day and night. Besides, even if my ten fine colonial oxen should be found, and the chief should allot them to the kraal which had been plundered by me and my patrol, the very next commando or patrol that should see these oxen in Kaffirland would seize them as stolen from the Colony. In short, there is no end to the evils which this system produces, as the specimen which I promised, and which I now give you, must prove. I give names in order that the official documents may be referred to.

Lourens Erasmus, residing on the extreme borders for the time, returning from church, knee-haltered his eight fine waggon horses near his house. These animals, quietly grazing, soon were out of sight. When sought for towards evening, they could not be found, the farm being very bushy. Next morning search was in vain. "The Kaffirs have taken them of course." Soon *the spoor of eight horses was found going in the direction of Kaffirland with the spoor of Kaffirs driving them.* Erasmus at once jumps on his horse and gallops to the Kaga post, then commanded by Captain Massey, whom I do not know, but who was generally respected, and believed to be incapable of doing an act of injustice. He was only obeying his orders in allowing a patrol, and

as several deprivations had of late been reported, it was determined that a good reprisal sweep should be made at once.

The patrol *went upon the spoor of the eight horses* into a kraal where the astonished "*thieves and liars by nature*" pleaded innocence, and resisted. A conflict ensued; and not till one Kaffir was killed, and several wounded, did the patrol get away with the cattle of the kraal, the women howling and yelling, "there go our cows, our children must die together with the calves!" The booty was distributed among those who were on the list of alleged sufferers, and there was an end of the whole matter; but the very next day Erasmus's son-in-law, returning from an auction by a short-cut footpath through a thick jungle, found the eight horses still knee-haltered, within a mile from where they had been outspanned, so that since then they had never been off the farm.

There is *reprisal* for you! Langa, the son of the Chief Enno, was shot by one of these patrols as he was coming unarmed out of his hut at midnight to see what the disturbance meant.

Now fancy a nation of barbarians kept in a state of eternal excitement by their thieves, whom they beg and pray of you to shoot like wolves, stealing from the Colony—by honest, but careless losers claiming compensation—by dishonest non-losing vagabonds doing the same—by patrols, blundering, misled, shooting, seizing and insulting—by the chiefs unjustly fining one kraal to indemnify another kraal, which has been unjustly fined by the white man—by one chief attacking another chief, who refuses compensation for seizures made upon the former for thefts suspected to have been committed by some subject of the latter. And you will not be surprised

when you are told *that* was the *chief* and *immediate* cause of the so called D'Urban War. "It was the match put to" combustibles, which shall be pointed out in due course

Let your tourists, your scribblers, and your political partizans, including old women, twist facts as they please; every honest man acquainted with the Kaffir Frontier will admit that these reprisals have afforded a rich harvest for a pack of unprincipled adventurers, and been a prolific source of demoralisation and of war with all its horrors, its corruption, and its glory. It was by one of these *reprisal* patrols upon a large scale that the Chief Zekoe was so atrociously murdered in 1830, as shall be seen hereafter, and by a similar one XoXo, the son of Gaika, was wounded in the head in 1834, immediately after which the Kaffirs rushed into the Colony with fire and sword. This was the celebrated D'Urban War,

Evils such as these, the reviled "Glenelg system" was intended to check, by forbidding such reprisal patrols to cross the frontier, without in the remotest degree interfering with the right of defending life and property, even to bloodshed if necessary; by not allowing any claim for compensation, unless it could be proved that the stolen property had been properly guarded by some herdsmen, or secured at night; and that the spoor entering Kaffir land was the spoor of the property stolen, by requiring that such spoor should be delivered over to the nearest Kaffir authority placed along the frontier for the purpose, and by making every demand upon the chief for compensation, exclusively through the British diplomatic agent, who was bound to ascertain that the demand was just.

Of this more in the sequel, only let us remark, *en*

*passant*, that the worst exterminators affected a pious horror for the armed herdsmen, as *encouraging bloodshed*, whereas any honest experienced Boer would tell you that before the introduction of the new system, armed herdsmen were a universal rule, and that the mere knowledge of the presence of such protection was sufficient to prevent the robber ever coming near the flocks. In the meantime let us go back to Lord Charles Somerset on the Kat River and the year 1817.

The late Missionary Williams visited the camp, and evinced the utmost zeal and solicitude in the cause of the heathen. His death, which took place not long after, proved indeed a great loss to that cause.

The Governor proceeded by Boschberg (since Somerset) to Graaff Reinet, where he rested for a week or ten days at the Drostdy with his suite, except the Colonial Secretary, who proceeded post haste to the Metropolis. Mr. Sheridan's health was bad, but he kept up his spirits, and his conversation was most intellectual and entertaining, his political opinions were very liberal, sometimes too much so for a high Tory Governor, who, however, never exhibited any narrow-mindedness or ill-humour.

His Excellency and his daughters made themselves extremely agreeable, though he was most zealously engaged in obtaining information from every quarter where it could be found. He had several meetings with the Heemraden, in which the best means of promoting the welfare of the Colony in general, and the district in particular, were freely and earnestly discussed. The subject of education was strongly urged, and its appreciation by the inhabitants proved to His Excellency by a reference to the manner in which the call by Sir John Cradock had been responded to, and his attention was presently called to the character of the majority of the



schoolmasters scattered throughout the country districts, being mostly discharged soldiers or the like, with respectful prayer that he would promote the introduction of a superior class of teachers from Europe, which he promised to make a point of his most anxious solicitude, and which he certainly did not lose sight of.

He pressed upon the board the importance of agricultural improvements of all sorts, but especially of horses, cattle, and sheep. He pointed out the most economical means of procuring and importing the best stallions, bulls, and rams, and offered his co-operation. And as some serious insinuations have been thrown out as to the motives which actuated Lord C. Somerset in such co-operation, I am bound to declare, though I never availed myself of the offer, and though I never had any horse-dealing with him of any sort, directly, or indirectly, that in all his discussions with the Heemraden, and with me individually, which took place very often, never one single word transpired that could lead to the remotest suspicion that his views were self-interested or otherwise inspired than for the good of the country ; nor will his bitterest detractor deny, what is self-evident, that his importations of horses have been of the greatest possible benefit.

His Lordship introduced with deep feeling the subject of the disturbances, which led to the tragical termination of the year before, which he assured his hearers was the most painful duty he had ever had to perform. The Heemraden replied that that unfortunate affair still contributed matter of daily discourse and lamentation throughout the country, but that every sensible man felt assured that "if that small knot of desperate men had got the better of the law, the old court of representatives would now be sitting in Graaff Reinet instead of the

Board of Heemraden." His Lordship then turning to me, said, "These gentlemen are perfectly right. It is the opinion of every member of the Court of Justice, of every Landdrost, and of every respectable Colonist I have spoken to. I can assure you that the Government feels deeply indebted to you for your firmness in not allowing the first Bezuidenhout to trample down all authority. I am aware of all the details of your proceedings throughout these distressing transactions, and I have not failed to represent them in the proper quarter." I could only thank His Excellency, but was compelled in sincerity to assure him that, with the perfect consciousness of having done my duty and no more, my mind remained deeply distressed.

He continued: "A Governor has few means of evincing his sense of such services. The salaries of the civil servants are very paltry; we try to make up for it sometimes by a grant of land. Many of your colleagues have obtained such grants, and I do not see why in this immense district, where there is so much land at the disposal of the Government, you do not secure a good slice for yourself." I replied that I was not less covetous than others, and that as my father died poor, as I then was, I should long since have applied for a grant, but there was not in the whole district a spring or even a puddle which some one did not lay claim to, and that though many of these claims were absurdly unreasonable, and must be rejected, it would not be proper or wise that I, being at the head of the district, and having those claims to report upon, should become the grantee of land so claimed. "Well," rejoined his Lordship, "I have purposely made enquiry, and am told that there are three farms of vast extent. 'Meyers Kraal,' 'Winterhoek,' and 'Drie Koppen,' called Drostdy farms, but that they are

more than three Landdrosts can ever make use of—why cannot one of these be granted to you?” Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to admit that I did not dislike this idea, though I said nothing ; but the Heemraden at once and unanimously protested that although it was quite true that no Landdrost was likely to use all these farms, still he might turn them to advantage, the more so as His Excellency had just admitted that the salary was so paltry, and that they as Heemraden felt bound respectfully to observe that they considered the Drostly farms as much the property of the district as the Drostly House, and therefore not in the gift of the Government. I thought them perfectly right, and so did the Governor, I believe, for he remained silent. Mr. Heemraad Meintjes then said, “I know a place well worth having, to which no one can lay claim. It is the place *Libertas*.” It is true there is not sufficient water for irrigation, but it is an excellent farm for horses, cattle, and sheep. It was held on loan by one Mdyburg, who gave it up, because he did not deem it worth the recognition money. I said that I should be perfectly content with such a grant. The Governor answered, “Then let the place be surveyed at once, and the title-deed shall be forthwith made out.”

His Excellency farther evinced his kind feeling by asking what means of subsistence my mother had, as he knew that my father had left no property. The reply was that she was in the receipt of seven pounds ten shillings per month, as a pension between her and four children, still unprovided for, together with some Government land about five miles distant from town, which General Janssens had allotted to her husband, who had not appropriated it because he had allowed an old German soldier with a blind son to remain upon it for

life. The Governor said, "Let this land be secured to the widow." In noticing this grant of land we must not lose sight of what it was *then* worth. It was sold some ten or twelve years later for, I believe, about seven-hundred and fifty pounds, and considered well sold. We must also bear in mind that land was at that time being given away to anybody, who chose to ask, as the official returns show. My father came very poor to Graaff Reinet, and died still poorer, and beyond the above £750 and the pension of ninety pounds per annum to his widow and four dependent children, he never received one farthing from the public.

The meeting having broken up, His Excellency said to me, "I am sorry to say your corps requires to be radically reformed. I shall only retain one company as guides. Major Fraser will continue in command together with Captain Harding, yourself as Lieutenant, and your brother as Ensign. The other officers will be placed on half-pay." I expressed my warmest thanks, but submitted that I had always been on the best of terms with my brother officers, that, in fact, I could flatter myself I had been a favourite among them; that I feared that my and my brother's selection amongst so many might create ill-feeling, and that I should prefer going on half-pay with the great majority, particularly if I could thereby facilitate my brother's promotion, he having then been Ensign more than three years. I added that whether on full or on half-pay, I should consider it my duty as *Landdrost* to lead the Burger forces into the field in case of necessity. His Lordship took my remark very kindly, without giving any decisive answer; but soon after (on the 25th December, 1817) I was placed on half-pay with all the officers of the corps, with the above exceptions (Fraser, Harding, and my brother), the latter of whom

obtained his Lieutenancy, on the 8th January following, Mr. Knight being retained as Ensign.

As was easily foreseen, the reduction caused the greatest possible dissatisfaction, as it deprived the Frontier of some experienced, efficient, unexceptionable officers ; but the Governor's motives were not then questioned, though it began to be whispered that Harding was kept only to keep the place warm until the two brothers Somerset should be ready to take the two senior companies. His Excellency returned to Cape Town through the Karoo. Poor Mr. Sheridan being very weak, made up his mind to stay with me a few weeks, but, beginning to doubt whether he would later find such comfortable conveyance as in the Governor's waggons, he started with the rest of the suite. Some weeks later I met him in town. He said, "I wish I had taken your advice and stayed with you, that journey knocked me up." He asked me to dine with him that very day ; but when I came to his house he was not able to receive me, and never left his bed again.

Official business had brought me to Cape Town, and I received the greatest possible kindness and attention from the Governor. As an instance, I may quote that he asked me whether I had brought with me the diagram of the land that was to be granted me. I then had to state the fact that soon after he left Graaff Reinet, Mr. Meintjes had told me that he had been mistaken when he had informed His Excellency that there was no applicant for the place "*Libertas*," as he had since found out that David Naude, a respectable farmer, poor, with a large family, who subsequently became Hcemraad, had petitioned for it. I consequently would not interfere with this man's chance. The Governor said, "I appreciate your motives, but as you are not rich, I think you are

bound to take care of yourself and not to lose the opportunity, as I know the services of your family, and wish to serve you."

I make these notes chiefly for my children and friends, because they cannot have any interest for the public; but I shall take good care not to say one word that I should object to the whole world knowing, and not to state one fact that is not either self-evident or notorious, or that will not be found confirmed by official records, or by private and voluminous correspondence scattered among my private papers. Let objectors to any such fact disprove it. Therefore, as this is, though by no means a *private*, still in some measure a *domestic* document, I shall show how I became possessed of whatever property I possess, beginning with this same Libertas.

Soon after I had got this farm confirmed to Naudé, Mr. Meintjes came to me and said, "Poor man, he believed that when he got that farm he had got all the world, but he finds that he must sell it, and I advise you to buy it." I told him that he knew that I was no farmer, and that I could not afford the five thousand rix-dollars, which was the price asked. (The same land cannot now be got for five thousand *pounds*.) He answered, "If you will contribute three thousand rix-dollars I shall do the same. There will be one thousand for transfer expenses, and for the purchase of one hundred heifers. We shall enter into partnership. I shall manage the concern, and you will be the sleeping partner." I had nothing except my salary, but Mr. Meintjes undertook to procure the money on interest, and I consented. This proved a very successful speculation; but as I wished, at the suggestion of Lord Charles Somerset, to try to improve the breed of horses in my district, and as Mr. Meintjes's farm "Klip Kraal" was

better adapted for that description of stock, he offered to sell me half of the latter for two thousand five hundred rixdollars provided I would give him my half of *Liber-tas* for the same sum. This I likewise agreed to, but to show how rapidly landed property was rising in value about that period, I need only mention that when some-time later Mr. Meintjes wanted to get rid of *Klip Kraal* because it was too remote from his residence, he was offered seven thousand rixdollars for his half. I had to borrow this amount to purchase that half to avoid getting a new partner.

Later still Captain Harding, Deputy Landdrost of Cradock, sold by public sale as agent for the orphan chamber the farm "*Naudés Hoek*," which I was obliged to buy because the main stream of *Klip Kraal* had its rise there. It sold for three thousand four hundred rix-dollars, so that my *Zwagers Hoek Lands* cost me in purchase money twelve thousand nine hundred rixdollars, and I would perhaps now not take as many *pounds*.

I must, however, return to Cape Town, where the Governor, after I had been an inmate of his family circle for ten days at *Newlands*, where I was treated by all as an old intimate friend, kindly invited me to join him in one of his shooting excursions to his country residence, *Groot Post*, but I had hardly been there four and twenty hours, when His Excellency received an express from the Colonial Secretary, transmitting a communication from Captain Andrews, stating reasons for believing that another insurrection was going to break out. I assured His Excellency there could be no foundation for this suspicion, but as my mind, under the circumstances, could not be easily absent from my post, I begged leave to return home forthwith. His Excellency said, "I shall send a detachment of troops with you," and Captain



Gethin, who was one of the shooting party, was ordered to start for head-quarters and take the command of the detachments. We accordingly in a few days sailed from Simon's Bay, in the *Astrea*, with about eighty men, officered, besides Captain Gethin, who was not long after killed by the Kaffirs, by Lieutenant Gilfillan, whom I subsequently appointed Civil Commissioner of Cradock, and Lieutenant Carmichael, who perished in India. I think there was a third subaltern, whose name I forget. Captain Wilson of the 72nd Regiment, stationed on the Fish River, was a passenger returning from leave of absence. We had a long and boisterous voyage of three weeks, and after losing one of three masts landed in Algoa Bay, where I had the satisfaction to find that the report about the intended insurrection was not believed. I nevertheless hurried to the Fish River to hear Andrews, and satisfied myself that he had been imposed upon.

## CHAPTER VII.

1818-1820.

1818. War between Hintza and Gaika—Government sides with Gaika—Burger commando—Lions captured—Drostdy at Beaufort—Kaffirs invade Zuurveld—Meintjes sent to Cape Town—Col. Willshire—Attack on Graham's Town—Large Burger Force—Names of Commandants—Dr. Knox—Campaign—Makanna surrenders—Interview with Hintza—Character of Cape Dutch—Governor visits Graaf Reinet—Cape Corps reduced—Neutral Territory—Interview with Governor—Reconstruction of Cape Corps—Gazetted Captain—Captain Henry Somerset—British Settlers—Difficulty in locating them—Anger of Lord C. Somerset—Col. Bird—Governor speaks kindly—O. G. Stockenstrom—Duel—Court of Enquiry—Major Frazer—Exchange to Corsican Rangers—Ill-treatment.

EARLY the next year (1818), however, the eastern horizon began to darken. Notwithstanding the ready admission of Gaika that Hintza, being chief of the elder branch the Galekas, was his superior, still there always remained strong jealousies between them, which had been zealously fomented by Hlambe since he had been compelled to recross the Fish River and submit to his nephew. At last matters came to a crisis, and in a pitched battle between the Galekas and Ghaghabés (Rarabés), fought on the Debe, or Kommetjes, flats, in which Hlambe with his forces joined Hintza, Gaika was completely defeated, with great slaughter. The dispute was about hunting grounds and other minor questions in which the Colony had no interest; but our Government thought proper to espouse the cause of Gaika, and a powerful commando soon entered Kaffir land under Colonel Brereton,

who had then lately assumed the command of the frontier.

Considering the eastern front of my district in danger, I advanced with a Burger force to the heads of the Kat and Koonap Rivers ; but the expedition soon returned with immense flocks of cattle, having had little cause for fighting. My party did nothing except catching four young lions, one of which made his escape during the night ; the other three I sent down to the Governor ; they were many years kept in the menagerie at the head of the Government Gardens.

Later in the year (1818), the subdrostdy of Beaufort was established. I was directed to meet the Governor at the Zwarteberg (now Prince Albert), as he wished himself to select the residence ; but when I reached the appointed place I received an express informing me that his Lordship had been suddenly taken ill, and charging me with the selection, I fixed upon Beaufort, where it now stands. Mr. John Baird was appointed Deputy-Landdrost, and my brother Peter Secretary.

Our policy in the above intervention (with the squabbles of the Kaffirs) was very unfortunate. We did Gaika no good, and all Kaffirland, except the immediate adherents of that chief, joined in one desperate combination against the Colony ; one general rush was made into the Zuurveld. Many of our troops were destroyed, as well as others. Poor Gethin, a noble brave soldier, the chief of my escort in the Astrea, was one of the first that fell ; and Kaffirland, which we had almost completely denuded of cattle, thus causing starvation and misery, soon was covered once more with our, as well as Kaffir, flocks. Partial success stimulated the infuriated barbarians, and great alarm even spread into my district with the report that the enemy was preparing for one grand invasion,

which was to "drive the white man into the sea." The want of the old Cape Corps, with its discarded officers, was then very much felt, and excited a great deal of acrimony and scandal.

Although not considered as directly concerned with the Kaffir frontier defence, which was deemed exclusively a military affair, I suspected that the Government could not be very correctly informed on the danger of the border districts in general, and I deemed it my duty to send to the Governor one of the Heemraden, Meintjes, who was well known to the Colonial Secretary as a man of great intelligence, thoroughly acquainted with the interests of the Colony and with the native tribes, he (Mr. Meintjes) having long acted as Landdrost in the absence of this officer. He returned with orders for me to have an interview with the new Commandant, Colonel (since Sir Thomas) Willshire, who had succeeded Colonel Brereton. This interview took place at Boschberg (now Somerset), and arrangements were made for immediately collecting as great a force as possible. The Kaffirs were elated beyond control.

A prophet (the celebrated Makanna, or Lynx) had sprung up amongst them, in whom they had implicit faith, and who made them believe that if they would boldly storm Graham's Town the English guns would pour forth nothing but water. He led on some ten thousand men, but met with such a reception from Willshire and his brave garrison and some civilians, including a small party of Hottentots under Captain Boezak, that after nearly succeeding they gave way, and in their retreat were severely cut up. This victory of a handful of heroes helped greatly to dispel the panic which had seized a great part of the country, and enabled us to assume the offensive as soon as part of

the Burger forces had joined from the rear districts. The Graaf Reinettters were soon a thousand strong at the sources of the Tarka, ready to fall upon the Tyumie and the Keiskamma as soon as the military commander should be ready to attack in the centre and on the right.

On the Baviaan's River I placed two hundred men under Commandant Paul du Plessis (the same who had the miraculous escape when my father lost his life) to cover Zwagers Hoek and Bruintjes Hoogte. My said field-force was divided into six divisions, commanded by six of my field-cornets, appointed field-commandants for the occasion, whose names I give, and who, with Du Plessis, constituted seven as honourable respectable men, and as brave soldiers, as can be found in South Africa or any other country.

They were Tjaart van der Walt, Stephanas van Wyk, Abram Retorius, Charl Pretorius, Abram Smit, and Hendrik Pretorius. Under each of these served four junior and provisional field cornets, mostly their equals, all completely coinciding in the political views of the Board of Heemraden and myself as above specified, and any man of common sense and integrity, who could have heard the sentiments generally expressed round our bivouack fires, would have felt convinced that the great majority of the thousand, whilst they were cheerfully submitting to privations, fatigue and danger, far from their homes, their families, their flocks, and their ploughs, from a sense of loyal duty to the British Crown and to the safety of the Colony, without one farthing of remuneration, would have been ashamed of the impudent and stupid piece of effrontery, by which barefaced popularity and money hunters, draw the cheers from the lips and the gold from the pockets of their ignorant dupes, that the aborigines have always been kindly and justly

treated, and that it is Anti-Colonial treason to admit the plain historical truth of extermination and rapine.

The only military man besides myself in this left division of our expedition was Dr. Robert Knox, who, by his great abilities, not only in his medical capacity, but as a man of general knowledge and science, rendered great service, especially in tracing the nature of the horse distemper, by the dissection of the many subjects which unfortunately daily presented themselves, and his enlightened political and ethnological views were deeply interesting to me during the many months he remained under my command. At last every preparation for an advance being completed, the main body crossed the Fish River under the commander-in-chief Colonel Willshire, whilst Major Fraser with the right wing covered the Colony, and I with the left descended into Kaffirland by the source of the Tjumie, whence Gaika with his loyalists had retired to the Kaga, in order to be more immediately under the protection of my detachment under Du Plessis, and the adjacent military posts.

After some trifling skirmishes I joined headquarters at Phoonas Kraal, when Colonel Willshire reinforced me by the Burgers from the Cape District, Stellenbosch and Swellendam, and directed me thoroughly to scour the immense boundless Fish River jungles thence to its mouth. The Kaffirs had always considered these strongholds impenetrable to the colonial forces, and the main body had taken shelter in them, setting us at defiance. I had no trouble however in making such men as I had under me creep into the narrowest foot-paths, and descend the steepest precipices. Day and night they pursued and surprised the enemy in the remotest recesses, till then considered inaccessible, until large bodies of men, women, and children were compelled night after night to

find their way to the Keiskamma, as Fraser's activity left them no chance of moving westward and disturbing the Colony.

This is not the place for the details of the operations of a campaign, which is so well known, but there are a few points which I think it right to refer to. In the first place I have seen it broadly insinuated, if not directly stated that our Commander dealt unfairly and cruelly towards Makanna. Now I have already somewhere given the facts when they were fresh on my memory ;\* but without pretending here to be literally precise in details, I am bound to say that Colonel Willshire could have had nothing to do with the "prophet" being sent as a felon to Robben Island, and detained after peace was made. That he had an undoubted right to treat him as a prisoner of war, and that if there was any foul play in obtaining possession of his person, I must be the guilty party. Judge for yourself.

As soon as the several concentrated bodies of Kaffirs in the different parts of the jungle had been attacked and dispersed by the strong corps into which I had divided my force, the latter was subdivided into as many small parties as I deemed safe, and spread into every nook and corner however rugged, so that the Kaffirs nowhere found either rest or safety. And the cattle having no food in the jungles forced their way into the open grassy spaces and easily fell into our hands. Hunger was therefore soon added to other misfortunes, and the sufferers in their misery became enraged with Makanna, whom they blamed as the cause of the war, insisting on his going to make peace. He considered himself hardly safe among his countrymen, and would not accompany those who fled across the Keiskamma.

\* The reader can refer to Thomas Pringle's narrative.



My wagon train was drawn up where the Trompeter drift Road has surmounted the rise through the bush, near where Fort Peddie now stands. I had just returned from one of our scouring circuits, when two Kaffir women were reported to be approaching the camp. Knowing that females were generally the messengers in Kaffir warfare, I was prepared for some sort of diplomacy. These poor half-naked, half-starved women, after a long preamble, describing the position of their people, stated that they had been sent by Makanna to beg permission to come to me to discuss matters in safety. I made them explicitly understand that I was subordinate to a greater chief who was encamped not far off, to whom Makanna might go : that that chief was likewise subordinate to a still greater chief, who was in Cape Town, and that all that I could guarantee to him was his life and treatment as a prisoner of war. I certainly did not expect that upon this reply he would make his appearance ; but he did, I believe, the very next day about sunset, accompanied by the same two women, who had brought his message. I received him civilly, and ascertained from himself that he thoroughly understood his position. "Parole" was of course out of the question. "Prison" I had none. To secure him by the wagon chain or thongs I shrank from. I therefore placed him in a large comfortable covered Boers' wagon, as good as my own, with the sails tied down, and fed him from my own supplies, but I placed two sentinels behind the wagon, and two in front : who received orders, which were explained to him, to shoot him if he should attempt to make his escape. The next morning I rode over to head-quarters and reported the whole proceedings to Colonel Willshire, who with his usual civility said, "I congratulate you, only take care, don't let him escape." A few days later the Colonel

moved his camp, and passing mine took over the prisoner out of my hands. I admit that I was sorry to see him handcuffed between two soldiers, which was represented as a necessary precaution. For further details, especially on the deputation sent by the Kaffirs to demand Makanna's restoration to his people, I must refer to what I have written elsewhere, and in the second place state a case which shows how our commander was actuated in such matters as the above.

The Fish River being at last cleared, and the hostile Kaffirs having fled beyond the Keiskamma, we advanced in pursuit as far as the Great Key, the mountain tracts about the sources of the Keiskamma, the Buffalo, and the Kaboosie being left to me to clear, whilst the main body scoured the country between those mountains and the sea. On the highland above the right bank of the Key, the two divisions were once more united, and struck terror into the Galekas, and their great chief Hintza, who knowing that we were fighting in the cause of Gaika, of course concluded that their own punishment was our chief object. But our enthusiasm in favour of the Chaghables had by this time cooled, and it was strongly suspected that most of Gaika's warriors had been arrayed against us, and we began to see that we had committed slaughter and devastation enough.

The Colonel was however determined to lay down the law to the "great King paramount," and I was sent to the ford or drift to try to bring him to a conference. I despatched a Kaffir messenger to ask him to meet me at the river, and he soon made his appearance on the left bank of the strong stream running between us. I shouted to him as well as the roaring waters would permit, that my commander wished to see him, and if he would come over to me, I should conduct him to the camp. He

hesitated, pleading fear. I replied, "If you don't trust me, I trust you, and will come over to your side." I jumped on my horse, and put his nose to the raging water, telling my escort not to stir; but His Majesty was too quick for me; before the forefeet of my steed were wet, he was deep in the river, and in three minutes he was shaking hands with me, saying, "I know you, and therefore come to you," alluding to my visit with my father and Colonel Collins.

He was very much agitated on seeing the Commandant, whose reception soon restored his self-possession. He stayed with us several days without even being watched, and when a comparison between his case and that of Makanna came on the carpet, Colonel Willshire nobly declared that if there were no other circumstance in favour of this case, and although there was no guarantee expressly understood, the mere fact of Hintza having come over to me when he saw me coming over to him made it our sacred obligation to treat him now that he was in our power as we should have expected him to treat me if I had been in his.

I am proud to have served under a chief of such principles. He made the barbarian understand that it would be as easy for us to clear the country as far as the Bashee, as it had been done as far as the Key: he warned him against any future hostility, against our ally, Gaika, or the encouragement of Hlambe in his rebellion, and obtained his solemn promise of peace and good-will. Not the remotest idea existed of *converting the visitor and negotiator into a hostage*, and as soon as he thought proper he left our camp for his own country, *taking his ears along with him*, declaring that he was now convinced that the Englishman's word stands as fast as the mountains.

Such was the Willshire war unfortunately brought on by our interference with a quarrel which did not concern us, and our taking from a vast population the flocks upon which they, men, women and children, were exclusively dependent for their very existence, but when revenge, starvation, and desperation drove them into the Colony, and when successful retaliation elated them and inspired them with contempt for British power, the question without reference to causes evidently had become, whether we or the Kaffirs should possess the Colony ; and if every nerve had not been strained on our part to follow up the great check inflicted by Willshire in Graham's Town, the question might have remained doubtful until overwhelming reinforcements could have been sent from the mother country. The willing sacrifices and undaunted courage of the Burger forces from Namaqualand to the mouth of the Fish River, from the Stormberg spruit to Cape Point, supporting as fine and as brave, though small, a body of military as ever took the field, saved the British treasury a fearful expenditure, and stopped slaughter and conflagration, which would have been an hundred fold multiplied.

Having alluded to the relations of my so-called "Cape Dutch" countrymen with the native tribes, I think this the proper place to admit that nothing can be more shocking to any philanthropic, philosophic mind than the extermination of the Bushmen and Hottentots and the seizure of their lands by the self-styled followers of the divine apostle of love, peace, truth, and justice ! But let us be impartial, and remember that the *Christian* work was originally begun by the *Government*, and had gradually become a matter of course, and of supposed necessity and self-defence. But, pray, what have these Cape Dutch done that we *Anglo-Saxons*, and *Anglo-*

*Normans* have not perpetrated on a much more extensive cruel scale in Ireland, America, in Kaffirland, in India, in China, as we will do in Japan? Look even at your Celtic rivals in the glories of robbery and massacre; do you not there see the hero, who boasts of having smoked and burnt to death a host of defenceless Arabs, in a cave, allowed to hold his head very high without a blush, even flattered and pampered by philanthropic England?

The Cape Dutch at least did wrong with less hypocrisy, for I never once heard our aggressions attempted to be excused or justified by the pretence of spreading the Bible or civilization; whilst, on the contrary, many of the elder members, who had fortunately come in contact with right-minded Christians, or had otherwise obtained an insight into the principles of the sacred volume, would sit up whole nights relating to me and lamenting over the scenes of injustice and cruelty which they had witnessed, or heard of in earlier days. It is true, and I must admit it as a fact, as undeniable as it is melancholy, that the emigrant Boers, who crossed the Orange River, renewed their aggressions upon the native tribes as soon as they found themselves beyond British jurisdiction, but no honest man, acquainted with the history of the Colony for the last thirty years, denies that the very existence of the Republics, and the anarchy into which they are plunged, are chiefly due to the mismanagement and follies of certain Governors and the hatred instilled into the minds of the Cape Dutch against British rule, by the systematic misrepresentations of an unprincipled, grasping, noisy faction, whose main object was to get rid of the Boers, and to get hold of their lands.

I never found any difficulty in convincing the Graaf Reinet people, that Great Britain, though far from being

a nation of angels, was the only supreme power under heaven, under whose dominion, from its happy constitution, its laws, and its endless resources, the Colony could flourish, as long as it knew with dignity to maintain its rights, and that therefore independence from that dominion would be our ruin.

But I am again anticipating, and must go back to 1817, when Lord C. Somerset came to the frontier for the first time. His suite, his visit to Kaffirland, the introduction of the Patrol or Reprisal System, I have fully described, and I recollect nothing particular to prevent our here overstepping the intermediate space and introducing His Excellency into Graaf Reinet. Here also much cannot be said that would not be mere repetition, but I may state, even if I have said it before, that His Excellency left my district and myself under the deep impression that even after a Caledon and a Cradock we could not have been blessed with a better Governor. The almost total disbanding of the Cape Corps, which had proved so useful, and was likely to be much wanted, together with the dooming to half-pay a whole regiment of officers in every respect unexceptionable and dependent upon their commissions puzzled some of His Lordship's admirers, but was then supposed to be an imperial measure founded upon economy.

Then the great danger being over, the idea began to be discussed as to the policy and justice of establishing a "Neutral territory" between us and the Kaffirs, which many of the older inhabitants—among others my Heemraden and myself—considered a very useful measure if it could be maintained. It was suggested that everything West of the Key and Somo was known originally to have been Hottentot or Bushman country, and could not be claimed by the Kaffirs, so that the

territory between that line and the then existing colonial boundary would be a very proper neutral territory ; but it was soon admitted that that argument would tell more strongly against ourselves than against the Kaffirs, and that whatever might have been the extent of Hottentotia, we found the Kaffirs—excluding even those in the Zuurveld—in possession of the country as far West as the Tjumie as early as 1809, when Colonel Collins visited Gaika there.

The Governor and the Colonial Secretary, as soon as the country was comparatively quiet, came up to the frontier once more. This point of neutral territory came before them of course ; but as the proceedings of these higher authorities have been fully discussed in numerous official documents already before the public, especially in enquiries and reports by parliamentary committees, I need not tax my memory, but may refer to the said records, which are easily come-at-able.

I was summoned to meet the Governor and be present at the great meeting which he was to have with the Kaffir chiefs. This took place as detailed in the papers just referred to, and when it was supposed that matters were satisfactorily settled, His Excellency one morning called me into his tent, and with his usual kindness, addressed me thus : “ I have again the agreeable duty of thanking you for myself, for the Government, and for the Colony for your services in the late war, and I can assure you that nothing can be more satisfactory than the terms in which Colonel Willshire speaks of them. I can only regret that I have no more substantial means of evincing my appreciation of your zeal. I wish you however to tell me frankly whether you have given up all idea of the army, for it is my intention to reconstruct the Cape Corps, as I have already done in part, and place



it upon quite a different footing from what it is just now. I shall have none but the smartest of officers ; several new captains will be wanted, and I shall place you first on the list of these if you wish it, and there is no doubt of its being confirmed at home." I replied that I was indeed grateful for this unexpected favour, that being a bachelor, and very ambitious to see something of the world, having never been out of the Colony, I should be quite ready to give up the Civil Service if I could hope for success in a military career ; "but," I added, "I am only a lieutenant on half pay." "You are technically on half pay," rejoined his Lordship, "but virtually you are as much on full pay as any officer in the army, except that you do not get the pay ; your command of the Burger forces of your district, and the way you lead them in the field when they are wanted, entitles you to be made an exception. You have been two years on half-pay, and during that period you have done as important military service as any officer in the Colony. My opinion is confirmed that you ought to be on full pay. There will be no difficulty in placing you on full pay as lieutenant, and I shall at once gazette you to a company. And now let me ask how it is with the grant of land ?" I told him that I was going to apply for one in the Baviaans River, which I could then take without scruple, and altogether so full of kindness and benevolence was his demeanour that I hardly knew how to express my sense of it, and I reflect upon it with the deeper regret as almost from that moment the tables were turned. In the orderly books of the time I shall be found gazetted as his Lordship had promised, viz., first of the new captains—Stockenstrom, Aitchison, Stuart and Wilcox ; and I have no doubt that his reports to the Horse Guards and to Downing Street did me justice.

But not long previous his son, Captain Henry Somerset, had joined him, and to this gentleman I was a stumbling-block from the first. From my profound respect for, and attachment to, his father, there are few sacrifices that I would not have made to serve the son and gain his good-will ; but with an infatuated parent who could not believe it possible for his son to be in the wrong, who possessed despotic sway in the Colony, and all powerful influence at head-quarters, civil and military, it was but natural that the young aspirant Captain should become the focus of a set of hangers-on and flatterers, who, like himself, having made South Africa the *Champ de Mars* of their future glory, would not like to see a mere unpatronised Africaner jump over the heads of gentlemen of influence and blood so well adapted to give brilliancy to the crack corps.

For me to speak kindly of Captain Somerset would be disgusting affectation ; but I have invariably defied his friends to point at one single straw ever thrown in his path by me, and whether I *might* have been troublesome to him I leave to those who know the history of the Cape frontier since 1820, and to his own bosom to decide. I shall not speak with asperity, but I shall not shrink from the truth. Those who think me solitary in my censure I refer to Sir Rufane Denkin, Acting-Governor, and Colonel Bird, Colonial Secretary, and the pamphlets which they published in 1827 ; and many people may yet remember how many friends the son *made*, or *lost*, for the father, who was (as I and many with me thought justly) one of the most popular of Governors up to the time of the young gentleman's arrival.

The change that came over the Governor was sudden indeed ; but an opposition sprang up as rapidly. Captain

Harding's removal to a civil situation, and the two Somersets at once stepping into the two senior companies of the Hottentot corps, which was now to be so considerably augmented, drew forth the severest criticisms on the motives of the reduction of the same corps only two years previous, whereby a great number of irreproachable officers had their military prospects blasted. Captain H. Somerset's appointment as a Civil Magistrate also afforded a plea for heavy censure. My duties, however, calling me to a remote quarter, I was able to escape all participation in the squabbles of the moment ; but as Captain Harding, who had been my senior as a soldier, now became my deputy as a civilian, I consider myself bound, as he cannot do it himself, to do him the justice to say that he, being tired of military life, in a straightforward manner made the best bargain for himself without anything that any fair critic could find censurable.

The Governor returned to the capital, leaving his son in his glory rising in the east, and worshipped, of course. I soon received a warning, through a friendly channel, that I was considered as *flying too high*, and likely to have my *wings clipped*, because it had been my duty to give an opinion adverse to one of the eccentricities of the new luminary, as will appear in the sequel. When His Excellency reached Cape Town, he heard that some thousands of British settlers were to be on his hands to be located in the Colony. I was ordered down to be consulted as to where lands were to be found, as it was assumed that there must be plenty in the Graaf Reinet district, for up to that period not many quit-rent titles had been issued.

It was soon apparent that the sun of my favour was setting, from the surprise which burst forth when I

stated there was no land for British settlers in my district—that where there was a puddle there was an occupant, except in the Baviaans River, where some squatters convicted of illegal commerce with the Kaffirs had been expelled, and where I myself, by the Governor's encouragement, had applied for a grant, which application, however, I now would withdraw, but that the whole of the Baviaans River could hold comparatively but few settlers.

The Governor, drawing up with prodigious dignity, said, "But you must know, sir, that the Landdrosts are strictly forbidden to allow the occupation of Government land." I then for the first time in my life felt myself stung by higher authority, and, likewise drawing up with due humility, said: "I do know it, my lord—forbidden on pain of dismissal from office; but the Colonial Secretary might have told your Lordship that that occupation took place long before I had anything to do with the district; that the Government knew it; that it was notorious; that Sir J. Cradock's proclamation gave those occupants reasonable hope that where the application was not immoderate it would be granted, provided the applicant should comply with the quit-rent regulations; that numerous petitions were at once sent in on the faith of that proclamation; that in many instances the pecuniary deposits have already been made; in some cases the lands have been already surveyed, and in most cases the people are prepared to do everything the said law prescribes, and I can only assure your lordship that if the squatters be driven from those lands, they have no alternative except migrating beyond the frontier, and coming into collision with the native tribes, and that at any rate *for me* it will be impossible to make the old established Boer give way to the new-

comers." The Secretary said nothing. The Governor, meeting with no support from that quarter, became calm, and said: "What is to be done with these settlers? Here is Colonel Bird maintaining that I have no right to locate them in the territory between the Fish River and the Keiskamma." I have so fully stated to the Committee of the Commons what took place on this subject, that I shall not repeat it here; but when His Excellency spoke about the Zuurveld I gave it as my opinion that it would be dangerous to place the settlers in close contact with the Kaffirs, as they would be no match for the barbarians in case of inroads. I suggested that as they were likely to be a great part sea-faring men, or people from near sea-ports, they would like to possess Mossel Bay, Plettenbergs Bay, the Knysna, and Algoa Bay, and that plenty of land would be found for them in and between those parts, as a great part of the land was still Government ground, and that the remainder might be purchased cheap or exchanged for land in the Zuurveld, where the Dutch Boer would be more at home, and would most likely be glad to go if favourable terms were offered him. His Excellency said, "The Secretary of State would think me mad if I were to propose purchasing land, when nine-tenths of the Colony still belongs to the Government; and as to the dangers of the Zuurveld, the British nation is powerful enough to protect its settlers wherever it sends them."

When His Excellency had withdrawn, Colonel Bird asked me some questions, in reply to which I was bound to allude to a case in which, as I thought, the Deputy Landdrost of Uitenhage had blundered, and acted arbitrarily. The Colonel asked, "Shall I tell the Governor, he may give his son a hint?" I replied, "You may do as you please." Next morning I was sent for to the

Colonial Office, where Bird said, "The Governor wishes to see you about this business of his son. He seems very much annoyed."

I walked with the Colonel up the Government Gardens, where he would wait until my return. As soon as I entered the audience room the Governor, after a stiff salute, said, "I understand you have been complaining to the Colonial Secretary of my son's proceedings. I know that he will do his duty, and I will not allow him to be interfered with; and let me tell you, sir, that no one has ever embroiled himself with any one of my family without repenting it."

I am easily cowed, and was struck dumb, so as to be only able to make this reply: "My lord, I have reason to feel more than respect for your lordship. Of your family I am a sincere well-wisher, but of your son in this matter I know nothing. I spoke to the Colonial Secretary of an official act of the Deputy Landdrost of Uitenhage, which concerned me. In what I said I persist, and am prepared, if you desire it, to make my statement in writing." His Excellency, recovering from a violent passion, said more mildly: "My son is new in the office, he may make mistakes, but there has been a dead set made at him, which I am determined to put down, but mind me, this does not apply to you." I replied that I knew that that *could* not apply to me, adding, "but after what has passed, I must beg leave to request permission to remain absent this evening from the dinner to which you did me the honour to invite me." Rising from his chair, he said, "I shall take it as an affront to the Governor if you do not come." Without another syllable, and with a deep bow, I withdrew. I met Bird in the avenue, evidently excited. "Well," said he, "how is it?" "He fell upon me like a tiger,"

said I, giving him the whole scene as it had taken place. The reply was, "I took particular care not to mention his son. I spoke of the Deputy Landdrost. However, you must go to the dinner, for it is official, but you may now judge of the folly of the idea of giving up the Civil Service, and following one in which these men are omnipotent. In the Horse Guards, depend upon it, your doom will be sealed." "Well," said I, "I confess to great weakness in this matter. I have no language to express what I feel at the sudden change of behaviour towards me in a man whose gentleman-like and confidential intercourse with me had brought me to look upon him more like a friend than like a man so far my superior. Some fiend, actuated by envy and jealousy, must be at the bottom. I know that I am no match for a Governor with his Downing Street and his Horse Guards at his back, but if Lord Charles expects me to submit to his son's domination, to see a brother the victim of base calumny countenanced by that son, without moving a finger in his defence, or to drive the Graaf Reiniet Boers from the request places to make room for British settlers, let him know that I would rather dash both Civil and Military Commissions in his face, and go to the Orange River, and live on springbuck, which, as a bachelor, I can do without injuring anybody else." "Don't be in a hurry," said the Secretary, with a sardonic grin, "for if you resign the Drostdy, I think I already know your successor." "I think I know him as well as you do," said I, "but that shall not deter me. Shew me that I have gone wrong in one single word, or act, and I shall knock under, but I shall not be bullied down." We thus parted. The whole affair indicates a degree of confidence between Colonel Bird and myself which might be doubted if it were not confirmed by his private



correspondence, which will be found among my papers. I considered him *the* ablest man in the Colony, very fond of it, and a warm patron of the young Africans in the public service, without any Dutch prejudices.

The Governor was now preparing to go home on leave. A sale took place of his furniture, &c. I mixed with the crowd to purchase some saddlery. In passing from one room of Government House to another he saw me, and thus addressed me in as formal a style as a Governor could assume. "I shall perhaps not have another opportunity of speaking to you before I embark, and therefore now express my anxious desire that you will not allow what took place the other morning to remain on your mind. It does not alter my opinion of your public and private character, nor my feelings toward you." I made a low bow of assent without uttering a syllable, but it was evident there was little sincerity on either side, though I was weak enough to be deeply affected, and went into the gardens for a solitary walk.

Having alluded to my poor brother's case, I must here enter into some more particulars with reference to him. He was senior Lieutenant of the corps, which was to be reconstructed. I have shown how he got there, certainly not by any intrigue or dirty work. He was no "crack-man," and was to be got rid of, of course, though Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir H. Smith fifteen years later appointed him Major of Provisionals, and recommended him to the Lieutenant-Governor (myself) as a most meritorious officer, assuring me that any service done to *him* would be a favour conferred on *them*. A charge was concocted against him of stealing a copper coin not worth sixpence, a charge so absurd that it would have disgraced the lowest ginshop, and through an instrumentality that shocked the moral sense of every decent being who

knew the relative positions of the two men. His real crime was in fact my own, "*too much good luck.*" For in less than four years after obtaining his first commission he became a Lieutenant, when almost every officer of his regiment was swept into the half-pay list, and now he stood where he was entitled to the first vacant company for which more favoured candidates were expected to compete.

As the fate of my brother necessarily drew me into the vortex of the squabble I accidentally found that it was rumoured and believed that I had sworn the peace against a man whom I ought to have *fought*. Although so barefaced a falsehood called only for flat contradiction, I thought it best to show that even the brutal bugbear of dwelling (the brave man's horror, the bully's foil, and often the coward's boast) could not turn me one inch out of the path of duty. Captain Harding had in the meantime succeeded as Deputy Landdrost of Cradock. As an old soldier and a perfect gentleman he was of essential service. We packed up the *requisites*. I deposited my will in his hands. We proceeded to Graham's Town, encamped within view of the "enemy," and had it conveyed through my excellent friend Dr. Finan of the 54th Regiment to the parties concerned, who affected to believe the story of the swearing of the peace, that they had propagated a *lie*, and that I was then prepared for any emergency.

As I had insisted on a Court of Enquiry it then took place, and resulted in a most ample apology on the part of Captain H. Somerset in the presence of Captain Harding, and on the chief primary tool in the whole affair having the promotion, which had just fallen to his lot, cancelled, after getting himself publicly horsewhipped and placarded. I applied for a copy of the proceedings,

with a view to publication, and was refused. They can be found of course. I shall be glad for the sake of my brother's memory as well as my own if every document connected with both cases will be strictly scrutinised, though it will be found that in one respect I did wrong. My friends thought that I could not do otherwise, but I never forgave myself that I allowed myself to get on full pay through his going on half-pay, although he insisted upon it himself, saying that he would not live among a set of malicious conspirators.

Poor Fraser was Major commanding the Cape Corps. Some people seem to have considered him not very "*crack*." At any rate he was another stumbling block, for it was soon whispered about that he was given to habitual inebriety. I myself was named as cognizant of the failing, for Fraser wrote to me, and received my reply. He obtained leave of absence and went home, where he found that the charge had reached the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief. In the Colony it was given out that he would never return, and who was to be his successor nobody could doubt of course, but he was able so fully to satisfy the Duke of the falsehood and malice of the accusation that he soon returned as Lieutenant-Colonel, to the disappointment of his slanderers. However, hard service had undermined an otherwise good constitution, and death on the 19th October, 1823, removed this obstacle out of the way of the frontier élite. "When professional reports from the frontier," wrote a faithful recorder of the events of the day, "put it beyond a doubt that Fraser's dissolution was near at hand, Colonel Scott and the other field officers there were recalled, and Major Somerset proceeded to Graham's Town, where he barely arrived in time to find Fraser alive. He now of course commanded the Cape Regiment and

the frontier, Major Molesworth of the Cape Corps having obtained an appointment on the staff here."

It was not long before I began to reap the fruit of which the seeds had been sown by *my success beyond my merits*. To *this* crime I plead guilty. I defy the whole fraternity of envious and malicious conspirators to name another. Not only was I not gazetted at the head of the new captains elect of the "crack corps," where the general order of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the 25th October, 1819, had placed me, but soon after the Court of Enquiry above detailed, it was whispered that care would be taken that my promotion should not take place at all, and after some shuffling and the signing of papers about an exchange with Captain Page, of the 60th, I found myself gazetted Captain on the 25th May, 1820, and shoved into the Corsican Rangers on the 20th July following in exchange for a Captain Lowen.

Of this shelving I do not complain. The rule may be equitable, if it be applied with impartiality; but I ask the Horse Guards whether its favourites are above the rules, which apply to others at least their equals in worth and services. Whether, for instance, the fact of a member of the House of Beaufort enjoying the civil offices of Colonial Secretary, of Magistrate of Simon's Town, of Deputy Landdrost of Uitenhage, and that precious job of the Commissionership of Stamps, ever for one moment checked his promotion or diminished his pay as a military officer.

How is it that Sir John Cradock, who certainly knew the rules of the Service, did not send me to half-pay when he appointed me Deputy Landdrost? He explicitly gave it as his opinion that my commanding the Burgher forces entitled me to military promotion, and he obtained for me a Lieutenancy accordingly, when

there was not a regular soldier near me. Colonel Graham I suppose knew something of those rules. He was of the same opinion as Sir John, and I have already shown that Lord C. Somerset acted upon the same principle when he offered me the company; that is up to the moment when his son began to poison his mind. In short, hundreds of instances might be quoted exactly in point. Did Cuyler and Dundas's Landdrostships check their military promotion, or prevent their dying Generals, as they richly deserved.

I have been excluded from every Brevet that has taken place since I obtained my company, under the false pretexts that I had performed no military service since my last step. I have just shown the opinion of three officers of high rank to the contrary, and I shall further show the falsity of the pretext, if I can go on with this memoir. In the meantime, let me ask what military service that deserving officer Colonel Rogers performed after he obtained his majority; and when my excellent friend Major Mitchell was excluded from the Brevet under the same pretext, he remonstrated with the protest that he had been in the Kaffir war, under Sir B. Durban, and he was at once Lieutenant-Colonel. Have not I been in Kaffir wars? Yes, but in the Horse Guards, as we find predicted above, "*my doom was sealed*," particularly when once the result of the Court of Enquiry was known, and still more when once Lord Fitzroy Somerset became despotic there. Rules indeed! There is not a single act of injustice for which some rule may not be dragged forth and twisted so as to suit the case of a favourite or a man *on the "black list."* Has the above rule, which I call "*a false pretext*," been strictly adhered to in all cases of Brevet? No! violated whenever it was convenient for a job.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1819-1820.

Correspondence with Col. Bird and Lord C. Somerset, during 1819-1820  
—Further details of War—Willshire's campaign.

IN the foregoing pages, Sir Andries frequently refers his readers for fuller information to the official records of his public acts, to blue books, reports of committees, courts of enquiry, &c., into which it is impossible within the limits assigned to this work to dive—but from the accumulations of demi-official and private correspondence preserved by him for the information of his family and friends, certain extracts may be here introduced, which will confirm the personal narrative and give the reader much further information upon the events of the times, and a deeper insight into the character of the man who took so prominent a part in them. The private correspondence with the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bird, and with the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, is voluminous, and up to the date at which we have now arrived in the narrative, namely, the beginning of 1820, is of the most cordial and friendly nature. Commencing a few extracts with the year 1810, we find the Colonial Secretary writing:

“One of the most pleasing parts of my duties here is in expressing to you so constantly, as it is my good fortune to have done, His Excellency the Governor’s approbation of every part of the conduct of the Landdrost of Graaf Reinet, and his Lordship, with whom I confidentially communicated upon the difficulty and embarrassment you felt at the time was most sensible of

the prudence which dictated the mode in which you endeavoured to avoid causing those jealousies which now and then attend a concurrent jurisdiction."

In this correspondence frequent allusion is made to the impaired and very delicate health of the Landdrost, who frequently speaks of the impossibility of continuing to hold so arduous a post, of his great desire to get rid of the Civil Service, and pursue a military career. In February, 1818, Lord Charles Somerset writes him in the following affectionate terms :

"I seized the first opportunity to entreat that you will not trifle with yourself, but that you will repair to Cape Town without delay to have the advantage of Dr. Barry's very extraordinary skill. Indeed—indeed—all things—public business—public duty even, must give way to health, and I cannot help therefore imploring you to give yourself up entirely to the restoration of yours." And in August of the same year, the Governor writes, "My official letter of this date will inform you of my sentiments upon the very efficient and able manner in which you have executed your expedition to the Northern border. I cannot, however, refrain from repeating them in a private communication, and assuring you that I most fully appreciate your very able services," and concludes, "I shall be most happy to hear that your health is re-established, and beg you to believe me, with very great truth, most sincerely and faithfully yours, C. H. Somerset."

There is a very lengthy and interesting correspondence on the selection of a site for a new subdrostdy, and the establishment of same at Beaufort West, with Mr. Baird as Deputy Landdrost, and Pieter Stockenström as Secretary. Under date 29th January, 1819, the Colonial Secretary, in concluding a very long letter respecting the new subdrostdy, says :



“ I enter fully into the concluding part of your letter of the first last week and I have since had a conversation with Lord Charles on the same subject. He agrees entirely with me in deprecating the step of retirement with which you threaten us, and which every fresh instance of your administration convinces him you ought not at present to think of. We had this week a letter from the Board of Churchwardens of your town highly flattering to you, and also beseeching the Governor not to listen to your request to be allowed to resign. Can you refuse yourself to all these testimonials of public sentiments?—add to them the offer of any sort of aid until your health is re-established, and I think you will be persuaded not to adopt a measure which will be temporarily, at least, prejudicial to your private affairs, and which all connected with public administration will not cease to lament.”

The following two letters on the state of the frontier at the commencement of 1819 will be read with deep interest. They are addressed to the Colonial Secretary :—

“ February 12, 1819.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I have thus far refrained from entering into any discussion respecting the state of the Eastern Frontier, for fear that my sentiments might have been construed into a wish to reflect upon the conduct of others, or to meddle with affairs not belonging to my line of business ; but what I anticipated as the consequences of the last Commando into Kaffirland being in every respect realised, and a strong force from this district being again necessary for opposing the Kaffirs, I think that I would make myself unworthy of your confidence, and lose sight of the interests of the inhabitants entrusted to my superintendence, in a most

essential point, were I longer to withhold from you that it is becoming more and more evident to every person knowing the Kaffirs and the state of the interior that the present system upheld with respect to the savages cannot be continued. Excuse me if I speak too clear—consider my motives, and your own zeal for the service will plead for my anxiety in this cause. Total silence would be better than partial candour mixed with the least duplicity, as the former would leave you to act for yourself, and the latter might lead you astray. How many lives have not been lost since the last Commando? What determined and successful attempts upon our armed parties have not lately been made up by a race who formerly fled at the sight of a musket? And what else could be expected from a populous tribe driven to desperation by being deprived of all their cattle, their only means of subsistence; left to choose between starvation and retaliation? God forbid that I should plead the cause of cruel barbarians, who have given me too much cause for revenge. On the contrary, I think it absolutely necessary for the safety even of a strong post, that they be most effectually set down; but could not that end have been obtained when we had about nine hundred men in Kaffirland? Might not a camp have been established at some favourable situation near enough the Fish River to keep open a communication with the Colony and prevent the Kaffirs getting in our rear? Could not these head-quarters under the protection of the military have served as a rallying point or rendezvous, and a place of safety for the provisions and baggage, whence strong detachments of mounted men might have been sent out to harass and destroy the Kaffirs in all directions, until you had made the survivors feel your superiority and power, invoke your clemency,

give up your deserters, and compensate your ally, Gaika, for the injury done him? By these means the force which I had with me in the Winterburg (ready to act in a moment as we were disencumbered from any baggage) might have been employed to great advantage, instead of which we were quite inactive, unacquainted with the plan of operations, and left to return without having done anything more than abandoned our horses, and everything that required our care, with the prospect of giving a decisive check to the Kaffir incursions, and enjoying the peaceable prosecution of our domestic interests for some time after. We have taken cattle, it is true; but not more than will be retaken from the colony soon, with the lives of several worthy members of society. Very few Kaffirs perished. Of course they could not be overtaken in so short a time, the cavalry tied to the infantry. The consequence was that it took a strong body of Boers to protect the cattle after it was brought into the Colony, every individual of which force almost was indispensably wanted at home to prevent the entire loss of whatever little property he might possess for the maintenance of a poor family—(for since the wise plan of Government has been enforced of emancipating Hottentots from the state of almost slavish bondage in which they were, the object of promoting industry has certainly been attained, since every farmer who has no slaves must be servant as well as master; he must drive his own plough, while his son leads it, and while perhaps his daughter herds the sheep).

“The cattle guard has continued to this day and those of the Commando (almost all circumstanced as just described) who were disbanded, had hardly reached their homes when they were again called out. Poor

whatever their faults, it is impossible to see the submissive, patient manner in which they come forward without admiring them. No grumbling—the only expression you hear is a hope that the Government will now treat the Kaffirs in such a manner as to make this the last occasion for such services. More than five hundred men from this district were actually employed in and on the frontier of Kaffirland during the last Commando, and whatever Colonel Brereton may have reported about their being alarmed (which has dispirited them not a little since it appeared in the papers), he wrote to me to say that they did their duty in every respect. Major Fraser says the same, and of their readiness to serve I am convinced, “for on the — November my orders were dated, and on the 22nd every man from the remotest divisions was at Graham’s Town—for their suspicions when they were a handful among thousands of Kaffirs there were the best grounds ; if those suspicions were not common to all, it was owing to ignorance of the treachery natural to the race we had to deal with. That Gaika, from motives of self-interest, will keep to the clan side he has taken I don’t doubt but that his people would not have co-operated with Tjambie in a general massacre, if they had been sure of success, whilst our men could not have defended themselves without a chance of shooting one another, no one of experience among the savages will believe. The prospect of securing possession of so many arms and so much ammunition is more than sufficient inducement for a Kaffir to betray his own father. I went to Graham’s Town last month to see whether there really existed a necessity for so many Boers being kept there after the Commando was over, and I met Gaika’s interpreter, Hendrik Nooka who assured me he was in a state of

terror himself all the while the Kaffirs were mixed with the army, for, said he, "Gaika knows that all his people will join against him the moment they see that Tjambie gets the better of the Colonial Force. And for all these reasons I should recommend, if Colonists be employed on any Commando, no Kaffirs, allies or enemies, be allowed to come among them, for they know them too well not to look for assegais on all sides.

"You will perhaps ask what would you have us do? If the farmers cannot be taken from their homes, are the Kaffirs not to be punished for the murder of two valuable officers, so many soldiers and others? are they to triumph in the possession of the fruits of the industry of so many wretches reduced to beggary and nakedness by their depredations. On the contrary, I only object to inefficient measures whereby nothing can be gained but the revenge of the enemy, who encouraged by partial successes, render the repetition of those petty Commandos necessary, whereby the inhabitants are obliged to be perpetually on the move, called away for instance during the lambing, ploughing or reaping season, as has been the case of late, the corn having been left ripe in many places and perished on the field before a sickle could be brought to it. I even think that things have come to that crisis that nothing less than a repetition of the Commando of 1812 on the other side of the Fish River will bring the Kaffirs to peace. I mean that about six or seven hundred or more inhabitants from the upper districts should be sent to guard the Frontier with part of the military, that all the Hottentots who were discharged from the Cape Regiment should be called in for the time being, mounted on horses, to be required from the farmers who remain at home, that these Hottentots joined by five hundred farmers, which this district,

including Cradock and Beaufort, might furnish, and two hundred and fifty Uitenhage farmers with some of the military enter Kaffirland at different places according to a preconcerted, well digested plan, and there remain acting as I have above proposed in speaking of the former Commandos, until you may return with the assurance of being able to live in peace for the future. Some lives no doubt will be lost, as the Kaffirs are in possession of the guns and ammunition of all the men they killed, wherewith they may arm all runaway Hottentots and the whole of David Stuurman's kraal. The deserters also will naturally take an active part against us ; but the evil is growiug so rapidly that the longer such serious steps are postponed, the more blood it will cost to root it out. It may perhaps be hard upon some, and most of the people for the moment, but it is the only way of making it cease, and the peace they will afterwards enjoy will amply repay their exertions and sacrifice.

"I lately took the liberty to write to you on the subject of my resignation, the rains perhaps have prevented your answer from reaching me, but allow me to add that whatever steps I may take they shall not be an obstacle to my making myself useful in the measures Government may adopt with respect to the Kaffirs, for as far as I am able, if His Excellency should think that my trifling aid can be of service in any way."

This letter was speedily supplemented by the following—

"Graaf Reinet, February 18, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I took the liberty of writing you a private letter on the 12th inst., submitting to your consideration my humble ideas with respect to the warfare against the Kaffirs, but having since received a

complaint from Mr. Baird that the greatest irregularity exists in the Tulbag district with respect to the post, which was ordered to be sent that way for the sake of expediting business, but on the contrary travels eleven days from Tulbag to Beaufort (much more time than is required for an ox-wagon). The reports about the Kaffirs still remaining unfavorable, and the bushmen having recommenced their depredations, I am induced to send the Heemraad Meintjes to Cape Town, as an intelligent man, well acquainted with my sentiments with regard to the present state of the country and as capable, I believe, of giving you every information respecting the nature of the savages as any person in the Interior, for, as I understand that Major Fraser is gone to Cape Town and that it is likely that effectual steps against the Kaffirs will be deemed indispensable, I consider the plan which will be laid down of such importance also to this district that I would have hastened to an interview with you myself did I not think it unsafe to leave the Frontier at this critical moment, but if you will only condescend to hear the bearer patiently and to encourage him to speak his mind (for you are well aware that the class of men to which he belongs are naturally diffident before their superiors), I am confident that you will collect very clear, and reasonable arguments from him without the least presumption or indiscretion. The principal points I have directed him to represent are, in the first place, the absolute necessity, if anything at all be done, that a force be employed capable of crushing the Kaffirs most effectually, so as to reduce them to the necessity of praying for mercy, laying all your arms they have taken from the unfortunate victims of their cruelty at your feet, and bringing your deserters to your camp, for these are the most dangerous incendiaries among the Barbarians,



prone to every thing horrible, and all petty efforts on our side will add fuel to the flame.

“In the second place, the danger of allowing any Kaffirs, apparent friends or enemies, to mix with your force, for should they even harbour no treacherous designs for the moment, the inhabitants, for whose conduct I will answer if they be well managed will be a useless body, perhaps run all risks and abandon the Commando when they shall be surrounded by those against whom they possess a natural and well grounded antipathy and suspicion. The general cry is let us meet any number of Kaffirs, but let us meet them as enemies, for our enemies ‘they are all of them.’

“Thirdly. I have directed him to submit to you of what little use a mounted force can be if they be kept with the infantry. The latter are necessary, but only to protect your camp, your artillery, your wagons, &c. ; they may act occasionally in bushy country, but they cannot come up with the Kaffirs if these wish to avoid them. Should also Colonel Brereton have the imprudence of ordering any of the inhabitants, whom he asked for to clear the Zuurveld, across the river I fear a disturbance if a reinforcement should be required before the Boers will submit to be placed under him.

“My motives may be considered to proceed from revenge or from imaginary apprehensions, but to refute the former I have only to ask whether false notions of philanthropy are to lead us to waste the blood of those who have a claim to our protection, from a wish to have it to say that we brought about civilization by lenient measures, when those very measures are a stimulus to the most savage barbarity by allowing the greatest cruelties to go unpunished, and as to the latter charge experience will soon enough prove the truth of what I

have advanced, were even my own conduct not a sufficient check to such insinuation should it exist.

“ Could I but have a short conversation with you I am sure you would excuse what you may now think presumptive. Believe me the Kaffirs may be brought to their bearing, but they are no more to be trifled with. Gaika individually may remain faithful to our cause, only from policy, but all his men must be thrown into the opposite scale. When I wrote my official letter of the — November last all the murders and depredations we have now to lament had not taken place, but experience has strengthened me in the sentiments I have therein expressed ; to it, to my private letter of Friday last, to Mr. Meintjes I beg leave to refer you for my further opinions, and trust to your own sound judgment for a decision.

“ Your very kind letter of the 22nd of last month reached me. The interest you take in my prospects, your disinterested generosity, is more than ever I had a right to expect, and you may rest assured that, whatever my destiny may be, your uninterrupted kindness will never be effaced from the grateful heart of

“ Your most obliged and faithful

“ A. STOCKENSTROM.”

That the contents of these letters were fully appreciated both by the Governor, and the Colonial Secretary, will be apparent from the following letter, selected from among many of the same style and import, addressed to him in reply.

“ Cape, March 1, 1819.

“ DEAR STOCKENSTROM,—I had on Friday just acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 12th ult. (which I had just time to do) and returned home, when Meintjes arrived, and your second letter was sent out to

me. I have immediately communicated their important contents to the Governor, and he has not failed to weigh your reasonings and observations with all the attention due to everything coming from you, and to your long experience in the affairs of the Frontier. I have, as you desired, sounded Mr. Meintjes minutely on all the points which you wished me to do, and I have derived a great deal of information from him, which I have communicated to Lord Charles. The *Favourite* and *Schooner* have sailed with reinforcements for Algoa, and all sorts of ammunition and stores. Colonel Willshire and Major Fraser are also in the frigate, and I feel satisfied that in whatever ulterior arrangements are finally decided upon by the military authorities, the commanding officer on the Frontier will sedulously seek your advice. It is impossible to foresee to what extent the evil may have reached before sufficient force is assembled to go thoroughly to work in the expulsion of these hordes; but as there are near 1200 Regulars now in the Uitenhage district, and as his Lordship will strain every nerve to bring about 2000 mounted men thither, I trust that it will be found practicable to hit upon some plan by which these Barbarians may be effectually repressed, concurring as I do with you respecting the propriety of not allowing Gaika or his people to mix or interfere with the Colonial operations. I still think that it is from his side that the seeds of peace are to be sown whenever or whatever success shall attend our operations—I have extracted and noted all your and Mr. Meintjes' observations, and I have no doubt Lord Charles will communicate them to Willshire. I have also little hesitation in thinking that the command of the Burghers will not be taken from their respective Magistrates—that is, from Fraser on one side, and from you on the

other ; the dilemma which you apprehend is therefore, I trust, not likely to occur. So far from thinking that there were any unfair grounds for the armed Burghers on the late expedition seeing armed Kaffirs in their rear with feelings of jealousy, I think they would have been unwise indeed not to have remarked upon it, and not to have had the step taken which was adopted. I am much afraid that a want of bread-corn will be felt by the large force assembling, and I am not aware what you can furnish or what Mr. Hart has. This is matter for very early attention. In the meantime, lest the communication of the Commissariat with Uitenhage should be interrupted, 400 muids of wheat, 100 muids of flour, and 25,000 lb. of biscuit have been sent down by the *Alacrity* transport, which takes artillery, ammunition, and other supplies. Your idea of mounting the Hottentots, who are out of service, is an excellent one, and I have written circulars to the Landdrosts on the subject. Meintjes slept at my house last night, and I communicated my ideas as to future operations to him. As I am not a military authority, it would be presumptuous in me to put them to paper ; but he will naturally tell you what I said, and if we are strong enough when the expulsion is effected, something of the kind will, I should suppose, be done ; nothing, however, without referring to your local knowledge.

“You cannot think how much Lord Charles is obliged by the candour of your letters ; it is this that really puts a Governor *au fait* of what is passing, and I trust you will continue constantly to keep us so apprised. Hoping better times, I remain, dear Stockenstrom,

“Yours most truly,

“C. BIRD.”

To reproduce the history of the War of 1819 is not the object of the present work, and though the private correspondence between the leaders of the Burgher forces and the Colonial Secretary is both extensive and very interesting, the reader must be satisfied with one more letter addressed by the said Leader to Colonel Bird.

“Key, September, 21, 1819.

“MY DEAR COLONEL,—Since my last from the mouth of the Fish River I have not had a convenient opportunity to give you an account of our operations in this country ; but, having heard that from Colonel Willshire's column a party is going into the Colony to-morrow, I recommence the chain of the communication I began on crossing the boundary of the Colony. After having cleared the Fish River bush of the main body of the Kaffirs in the manner I have already stated, I secured it once more in order to prevent many small bodies from remaining behind and concentrating to attack any exposed part of the Colony after we should have crossed the Keiskamma. The weather was very unfavourable. Ourselves and our cattle suffered greatly from incessant rains, but though the weather favoured the escape of the Kaffirs, great numbers of them were shot, and the extent of their distress was more than I can describe. In the meantime Colonel Willshire had determined on proceeding no farther before Major Fraser should have arrived with Gaika, and the swelling of the Fish River detaining them, we inevitably lost a few days, though I thought that my party was over strong enough to be employed in the pursuit of the flying enemy. However, Colonel Willshire (doubtless very wisely), thought better not to let me proceed before his column with the Artillery and Infantry could also cross the Keiskamma to co-operate, so that this movement did not take place

before the 19th inst. ; for that river had again swelled and remained impassable for several days. On the latter day I proceeded direct to the forests at the sources of the Keiskamma, there saw nothing, crossed over to those of the Buffalo River, at sunset came up with some of the enemy, killed two, and took some cattle. On the 11th, I divided my force into several small parties, and entered the forest at all points about daybreak. The Kaffirs attacked a small party under the Commandant Abram Smit of my district with fire-arms as well as assagais, but the Burghers did their duty, none were hurt, but the assailants left seven dead on the spot, independent of the many severely wounded who crept to die in the corner. I was near with twenty men, and proceeded to the spot where the firing was heard. On joining Smit we were fifty strong ; the Kaffirs had rallied, and charged once more, but were equally unsuccessful, and did not show themselves again that day. The women, who were taken, stated that Tsambie and Jalousa were in the same bush, and, on seeing us enter, had sent the Kaffirs to attack us in a narrow pass. On the 12th, my parties again killed twelve Kaffirs, besides those who were severely wounded and must soon have perished. The military and the party under Commandant Miller of Uitenhage had since passing the Keiskamma also been successful against the Kaffirs, but as to the operations of those parties I must refer you to better authority. I would again have liked at this time to have moved as rapidly as possible in pursuit of the flying enemy, but the commandant (most likely for good reasons), thought that we should advance to the Key in four divisions, keeping in a line with each other. I joined the Graaf Reinettters on the extreme left, being sure that if Hintza would prevent the retreat of the enemy through his

territory he would go the upper Key. On the 16th, I found that I had not been mistaken in that supposition. My party came up with part of the enemy near the junction of the Kabousie and Key, shot a great number, and took 7000 head of cattle. I then would have wished to continue the pursuit in person without loss of time, but had to keep up a communication with Colonel Willshire's column, where I thought that officer would wish me to be present, when he should see Hintza ; yet for several reasons Tsambie could not be left to follow his course in peace. He was taking a Northerly direction, and would most likely try to rally his forces near the sources of the Key, whence he might advantageously make an attempt on the Tarka, if that quarter were exposed. It was also necessary to push him to the extreme, and convince him that he was safe nowhere. I therefore sent 300 men under "the Commandants van der Walt and van Wyk after him, with orders to give him no rest, but to make the defence of the Colony their main object. On coming up with the divisions on my right I found that they had come among some of Hintza's Kraals under Boocho, whence the Kaffirs had fled with precipitation and consternation across the Key. Some shots had been fired among them, and the slaughter was likely to continue on pretence of their having allowed the enemy to take shelter among them, and their harbouring deserters, and having had a share in the attack made on the Colony ; but here again I thought it my duty to give Colonel Willshire my candid opinion about the policy to be pursued with respect to these parts of the Kaffir population. I had seen throughout that Gaika was anxious to involve us in a war with Hintza, and had always doubted the accusation he had brought against the latter. I had taken some of Boocho's men and



women, and learnt that a good number of the flying enemy had mixed with them, which they could not prevent, but that Tsambie himself had passed to the upper Key. They acknowledged having white men among them, whom they themselves dreaded, and who had fled on the first news of a Commando coming; they denied all participation in any outrages against the Colony, which I had no reason to think them guilty of; they acknowledged having Colonial cattle and horses in their country, but none except what they had got from Gaika, Tsambie, and other of our neighbours in exchange for women, &c., and above all Colonel Willshire had sent women from the Buffalo River to inform these people that we would treat with them, if they would understand reason, which of itself I thought a sufficient safe-guard against all hostility from our side. I therefore told Colonel Willshire that I thought we were at all events bound to convince ourselves that we had to deal with a guilty enemy, while we continued destroying; that the Colonial cattle among them was no proof of their having plundered us; that if the total extirpation were not the object it would even be policy to allow Tsambie's followers to mix with neutrals in order to weaken his forces, as otherwise they had no alternative but that of adhering to him and sharing in his desperation; that their harbouring men, whom they had never been required to give up was no sufficient ground for our carrying fire and destruction into their country, and that the least thing we could do was to hear whether they would accept our terms. For, to tell you the truth, I always considered it the object of Government only to keep Hintza in awe, and make him do all he can to secure our deserters, but by no means, on the simple accusation of his inveterate enemy, Gaika, pick a quarrel

with a race in comparison to our force quite defenceless. The first object certainly is gained in its full extent, for Hintza and all under him are in such a state of terror that I am convinced they would not only give up the deserters if they were in their power, and the Colonial cattle and horses, but even their own cattle to purchase their lives which they consider at our disposal. Whether my hint was of any use I know not ; but though the Colonel at that moment replied that he was sure they were hostile Kaffirs he had before him, yet he consented to my continuing a correspondence with Hintza, which I had begun. With a vast deal of trouble, at length by going unarmed and alone to a distance from my party I persuaded Boocho to come across the river to me, terrified and trembling. He gave me the same information as the prisoners above mentioned, beginning by asking whether his brothers' quarrel with Gaika was the cause of our driving him from his home, as he knew of no harm his people had done. I told him of the object and success of the Commando, added that we had come prepared to make them share the same fate with Tsambie if they were in the least hostilely inclined ; but that on the other hand the Governor would not deprive Hintza of any of his rights and possessions if he complied with what was reasonable. Boocho said that he, as Hintza's elder brother always acted for him if necessary : that Hintza had fled to the Bashee, but should be immediately sent for ; that the deserters had fled to the Tambookies, but should be delivered up if they ever came among them again, and that both he and Hintza would be glad to come to an understanding with Gaika. The people here seemed in such a fright that in order to quiet their apprehensions I ordered my men to kill a couple of sea-cows for them. A good understanding

was soon set on foot, and the evening before last being at the river, and expressing to Boocho my apprehensions about Hintza's remaining away he volunteered to come and stay at my camp until the latter should come, for, said he, my brother thinks that you are come to revenge Gaika's cause, and is very much alarmed, but if he does not appear I can do every thing in his name. Gaika had come in here shortly before I arrived with Boocho. The meeting was by no means friendly: Gaika refused to salute or lodge in the same tent with Boocho. The next (yesterday) morning I brought them together; old sores were broken up, the argument was hot, and Boocho told Gaika to his face that all the Colonial cattle in this country had been got in exchange from himself, Tsambie &c., but principally from himself and defied him (Gaika), to accuse either Hintza or himself in having joined in the attack against Graham's Town, or in any other depredation in the Colony. Gaika could not refute this, but broke off the conversation by saying that Colonel Willshire should be present, when these affairs were discussed; in short from all I have learnt here I am convinced the inhabitants of these parts have been misrepresented to us, and I am happy that I have acted so moderate and cautious a part in regard to them: it would be easy for us to slaughter them in this open country, and they know it; but we would reconcile it but badly to humanity before we receive further provocation. Have they admitted deserters among them, they are ready to give them up as soon as they can secure them, for they dread them more than all Gaika's force. Have they stolen cattle among them? they got them by fair means, and we can indemnify the losers at the expense of the real plunderers. Have the enemies that fled from us mixed with them? How could they prevent it? would not

rather that flying enemy have fought them than us if they had opposed their retreat? No, I think with due submission to Colonel Willshire's military talents and experience that we had no right to calculate on such co-operation, but ought to have sent our Cavalry to overtake the enemy before he could get thus far instead of detaining that body on account of the Infantry and baggage. I find I have unawares deviated from my original determination of making no comment, but confining myself to a simple statement of facts, and leaving you to draw your own conclusions. The conduct of this expedition will be the subject of much correspondence; exaggeration will be employed as well for, as against our leader, but I fear principally against him; therefore my reflections are superfluous, and, to avoid the imputation of jealousy proceeding from a want of attention to my advice or opinion, I shall conclude by laying before you the view I now have of the state of things in Kaffirland.

"The Kaffirs, so far from being able to attack the Colony in the absence of the Commando, were driven in despair and with slaughter from its frontiers, convinced that the bushes and forests can afford them cover against us no longer, as, with all their force, they were obliged to abandon it entirely in less than three weeks, though pushed only by a very inconsiderable part of the Commando; they have seen that we can punish them and are determined to do so. I think therefore they will not be inclined to attack us again in a hurry, but I conceive our object should now be to strengthen Hintza and Gaika, and deprive Tsambie of what little force he has by allowing all the lesser chiefs or people to declare for either of the two former chiefs, in which case they should be restored to all their rights, and such of the

captured cattle as shall remain after the Colonists shall have been indemnified as usual. A treaty concluded between Gaika and Hintza could ensure at least the neutrality of the latter in regard to Tsambie, in which case Gaika would be well able to stand his ground, and could be made responsible for the whole frontier from the Tarka to the Sea. Both parties can be bound to return to the Colony all deserters, fire-arms, and slaves, and send back such as come among them hereafter."

Here this most interesting letter breaks off somewhat abruptly; but as the settlement of the War did not rest with the writer thereof but with the Governor, who, with the Colonial Secretary was shortly after the date thereof on the Frontier, for the express purpose of negotiating peace, all the particulars whereof are duly recorded in the public documents, to which access can be had by any desirous of becoming further acquainted therewith, it is unnecessary here to say anything more on the subject.

From the private correspondence with Lord Charles Somerset, the following letter, apparently the last ever addressed to him, has been selected, as containing allusions to many matters recorded in the preceding chapter, especially the high esteem in which the Governor was held up to the time of the unhappy scene at Government House, which took place about two months after this letter was written; the tender regard for his brother's fair fame; and lastly alluding to the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the Karoomo.

"Graaf Reinet, November 19, 1819.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I was duly favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 5th instant, acquainting me that my leave of absence from my regiment could not be extended beyond the 21st December, for which I am extremely sorry, but at the same time am much obliged to your Lordship for extending it so long. I have lost no time in communicating my wish to exchange to half

pay to Captain Birch, and expect his answer soon. I am surprised, indeed, to hear of your Lordship's intended departure from the Colony, and sincerely hope that your absence may be only temporary; in reality, whatever may turn up I shall never forget the favours and kindness I have received from your Lordship, and would be happy were I ever to have it in my power to convince you of my gratitude. The additional proof of your Lordship's good-will given by the offer of your interest to procure for me some provision on account of my ill-health overpowers my feelings, and I shall most thankfully avail myself of the same if again I should relapse into such a state as to be compelled to resign, but at present I feel myself capable of going through the duties of my situation, and find my family, in spite of my arguments, so averse to abandon a place of which they have had as it were the making, that I am resolved on remaining on the present footing, as far as it rests with me.

"Before the receipt of your Lordship's letter I had understood from Captain Somerset, on my arrival in Graham's Town for the purpose of attending the Court-Martial, that that Court-Martial had not been ordered, as your Lordship wished me to dispense with it, as Mr. Fleeson had agreed to withdraw his charges and go on half-pay.

"What I felt on the occasion may be imagined; but it is certainly out of my power to describe the pangs which seized me when I perceived that the cloud which had hung over my brother had been rendered much more obscure by the treatment which he had suffered subsequent to the Court of Enquiry, whereby, in the opinion of every liberal and unbiassed man acquainted with the proceedings, every imputation had been completely disproved, to the disgrace of his accusers. I found *him*

under an arrest ; none but those who were present when the Court sat acquainted with its proceedings ; the world left to put whatever construction it would on the silence which was observed in the quarter whence redress was expected ;—a Knox in the opportunity of giving whatever colour to his shameful conduct the most refined and plausible cunning could suggest ;—a Fleeson allowed to do duty with the regiment as a most unexceptionable character, and to negotiate an exchange to the best advantage ;—a third left to rejoice in seeing his object attained in the removal of my brother to pave the way to his own promotion ;—a fourth—but no, let me not envy them your Lordship's favours. Indeed, I could wish them ten times happier if the consideration used towards them had not injured my brother by leading people to conjecture that the part they had acted was quite meritorious, and that consequently my brother must have been guilty of something with which the public is still unacquainted. However, I told Captain Somerset, 'I shall do nothing that can annoy your father if he has changed his mind, and wishes to let Mr. Fleeson off by his going on half-pay. I'll advise my brother to dispense with the Court-Martial, but I must candidly acknowledge that I had hoped Lord Charles would have publicly exonerated my brother and censured his accusers, or brought the former to a Court-Martial on every one of the five charges entered into before the Court of Enquiry, which his Lordship did not think sufficiently cleared up.'

"I trust, my Lord, that your Lordship, at the head of a family whose honour and welfare are dear to you, will allow for my anxiety on account of an injured brother, whom I myself would have left to his fate had he been base enough not to resent his wrongs like a gentleman,



if he had been attacked in an open and manly manner ; but where his adversaries had so judiciously and secretly contrived their darts as to leave him defenceless and alone when their calumnies should face the day, the protection of his superiors and the law became his only recourse. The trouble your Lordship has taken in his behalf about his exchange with Mr. Schonfeldt I truly appreciate ; but without the removal of that stigma now fixed on him, in what regiment or where could he be comfortable ? Yet I have still some hope that your Lordship may acquire a different view of the case before your departure, as certainly to this day your Lordship must have been ignorant of most of the circumstances.

“Colonel Willshire has of course given your Lordship an account of my scouring the country from the Kaga-berg to the Kat River. The Kaffirs gave me very little trouble ; they moved quietly eastward as I advanced. At Kassa’s Kraals on the Karoomo, some of them seemed not inclined to leave the country, and were tilling the ground. I ordered several shots to be fired over their heads, and encamped for the night, detaching small parties and making dispositions as if I intended to attack next day. This had the desired effect, for next morning I found them all across the Kat River. However, the cows were calving so fast, and the calves were so weak, that I proposed to Colonel Willshire to give them a couple of days more to remove this (to them so valuable) property. The Colonel acceded, and I was obliged to go to Graham’s Town, as above stated.”

With reference to the unpleasant affair with Dr. Knox, to which Sir Andries refers, and the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, which he demanded, no good purpose could now be served by publishing the correspondence with Captain Somerset Colonel Willshire, and with his friends Captain Andrews, and

Captain Harding, who were of essential service to him in many ways, and it will suffice now to publish the finding of the Court, together with the covering letter of Colonel Willshire to the Military Secretary, Major Rogers, which are as follows :—

“ Fort Willshire, July 3, 1820.

“SIR,—I beg you will be pleased to report to His Excellency the Commander of the Forces that in consequence of an application from Captain Stockenstrom of the Cape Regiment for a Court of Enquiry to investigate into reports then in circulation injurious to his character, I directed a Court to assemble at Graham’s Town on the 23rd ult., the proceedings of which I have the honour to transmit to be laid before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces. I am led to trouble His Excellency with a perusal of the proceedings from two motives, that he may see with what perfect credit Captain Stockenstrom escapes the attempt made upon his character ; and secondly, that His Excellency may see the opinion of the Court relative to the conduct of Dr. Knox in this business.

“ I have, &c.,

“ THOMAS WILLSHIRE,

“ Lt.-Col. commanding Frontier.

“ To Major Rogers,

“ Military Secretary, &c., &c.”

(ENCLOSURE.)

“Opinion,—The Court previous to giving their opinion think it necessary to state that they conducted the proceedings in the early part with closed doors, as in that stage of the business it was impossible to say who might be called in as evidence, the whole officers of the garrison, from the publicity of the reports in question, being all likely to be brought before it as witnesses.

“The Court having, in obedience to the orders received from the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding on the Frontier, patiently examined and investigated every document and paper relative to the affair between Captain Stockenstrom and the officers of the Cape Corps, and having minutely traced as far as lay in their power the origin of the reports calumniously propagated to the prejudice of Captain Stockenstrom’s character, the Court, from all that has come before them, do most unequivocally give it as their opinion that Captain Stockenstrom’s conduct appears to them to be most highly creditable to him as an officer and a gentleman, and that he has conducted himself through a most painful period of calumny and persecution with feelings of the highest sense of honour and propriety.

“The Court cannot help observing the backwardness and difficulty with which the officers of the Cape Corps at first answered the questions of the Court, which by coming to the point at once would have tended to have shortened their proceedings; but the manner in which they at last came forward through their commanding officer, Captain Somerset, merits the thanks of the Court, and it is hoped the approbation of the Commandant on the Frontier.

“With regard to Dr. Knox the Court look upon his conduct in such a light that they hope they may be excused from giving an opinion, and refer the Commandant to the above proceedings, relative to the calumnies issuing from him.

(Signed) “JOHN J. JACKSON,

“Brevet-Major, 72nd Regiment,

“President.”

For further most interesting particulars of the Invasion of Kaffirland in 1818: the war of 1819: the History of Makanna,

and the attack on Graham's Town, and especially the demand made by the Kaffirs for the restoration of Makanna, with details furnished by Sir Andries Stockenstrom, the reader is referred to Thomas Pringle's narrative,\* which will be found to be perfectly reliable in every respect.

\* 'Narrative of a Residence in South Africa,' by Thomas Pringle. 1835.

## CHAPTER IX.

1820-1821.

Lord C. Somerset goes to England—Sir R. Donkin acting—His Frontier Policy—Interview with Gaika—British Settlers—Scotch Party under Thos. Pringle—Sir R. Donkin assigns to Stockenstrom grant of land on Baviaans River—Grants of land for Capt. Cameron and others—Grant for Col. Graham-Jyndock—Maasström—Mission beyond Orange River—Liberation of Prisoners—Landdrost visits Glen Lynden—Sir R. Donkin visits Graaff Reinet—*Feu de joie* on departure—Stockenstrom accompanies Governor to Cape Town—Project to seize the Griquas—Report of visit to Latakoo—Griqua Town—Bootchooanas—Conraad Buis—Bushmen—Melvill.

WE must now return to that link in the chain of events where I left myself solitary in the Government gardens brooding over the demoniacal secret intrigue, which had contrived an apparently irreparable breach between myself and a man, to serve whom I would have gone any length that was not inconsistent with self-respect, for the very tone of the speech which he had just made to me, however polite and affable, indicated the degree to which the thermometer had fallen.

His Excellency soon sailed for the mother-country, and was succeeded by Sir Rufane Donkin as acting Governor. The latter had soon to visit the Frontier, as the settlers were pouring in. I was summoned to meet him, and accompany him into the Territory, which had lately become "neutral territory." Sir Rufane said that the Governor had to the last maintained that the British Government had the right to occupy that territory,

which was originally Hottentot and not Kaffir country, and that the chiefs at the convention had clearly understood that *Dutch Boers* were to be excluded, between whom and British settlers the Kaffirs well understood the difference. "But," added the acting Governor, "Colonel Bird is of a different opinion, and has referred me to you." However, not trusting for details to unassisted memory, I must again refer you to the Parliamentary enquiry for my views ; for Sir Rufane's interview with Gaika ; for the concessions made by the latter ; for the instructions given to me ; for the survey of the Upper Kat River as intended for the Highland settlers under Captain Grant ; for the establishment of Fredericksburg, &c.

In the meantime the settlers were being located in the Zuurveld with the exception of the Pringle party, which was consigned to me, and as so much has been said about my hostility to and prejudice against *the settlers*, I must here devote a few lines to the sentiments which I have entertained with regard to this community from first to last. I had never expected them to be anything but what I found them. There were amongst them men capable of any species of crime that can be traced in the police records of the most civilized nations. Men who may be matched, but certainly not surpassed, among the diggings of either Australia or California, or anywhere else, and who have done more toward the demoralization of South Africa than the conquest and domination of the Kaffirs could have done.

Now surely this is explicit enough. If I could make it stronger I would do so. But to call a man hostile to a race of his own species and origin because he holds such monsters in utter detestation, is well calculated to generate that contempt, which has ever prevented my

condescending to produce hundreds of people at hand to show the absurdity as well as the wickedness of the allegation. In truth, I repeat the settlers were just what might have been expected, neither better nor worse, but as a body they were an enterprising, intelligent, industrious mass, likely, as they subsequently proved, to give a prodigious impetus to the development of the resources of the Colony, and consequent civilization, with a due proportion of men of honour, high character, respectability and education, such as in the long run always prove themselves the best supports of national liberty and independence. I began my *hostile* movement against these people before I had seen a soul of them, by trying to obtain for them the richest tract of land in the Colony, including four of the best seaports. I thus tried to save them from contact and collision with barbarians, for whom they were then no match.

By my influence and persuasion in my District the chief part of the transport was obtained, which conveyed them to their homes. Among my private papers will be found a letter from Sir R. Dunkin, begging me to send Colonel Cuyler 150 waggons. The Boers having heard of the idea of giving the request places in Graaff Reinet to the settlers were very averse to sending their waggons on this errand. I encouraged their coming to my District by finding something like a footing for any man apparently in search of honest means to make himself useful to the country as well as to his family, so much so that by giving two or three paltry situations to these interlopers, "I came to be accused of courting popularity with the English at the expense of the Dutch, just as I had shortly before been accused of courting popularity with the Dutch at the expense of the English, because I refused to drive the Boers from the request places to



make room for the settlers ; and when upon the representation of heads of parties a proclamation was issued rendering every settler going beyond certain limits without a pass liable to be put in prison and sent back, I declared it *impossible* at a time when we were even trying to emancipate the lowest class of the population from such odious restraint.

This made me a "*d——d democrat*," of course, and some of the very men who subsequently became prodigious popular favorites, and who then found themselves almost every morning lampooned at the corners of the streets, told me to my face, "Come and live with us if you wish to know what these settlers are, you will soon have enough of them." To say that I have been rewarded with the blackest ingratitude would be to slander a community for the baseness of an insignificant faction : for even amongst those who most loudly denounced *the ambitious Dutchman to whose domination no free Briton who knew how to appreciate his inalienable rights ought to submit*, there were men who would have pursued a decent course if they had not too soon become dependent on, and the tools of, intriguing, envious *superiors*, who whilst they hated each other with Satanic hatred were cordially united when they believed they saw a chance of crushing the *proud alien* whom they could neither frighten nor cajole, when these superiors became sworn brethren for the nonce. Hostility indeed ! Were there not amongst these settlers your Pringles, your Hudsons, your Blaines, your Smiths, your Franklins, your Stewarts, and hundreds who might be named, and whom the first man in the land might be proud to rank among his friends, and are there not among my most intimate and even family connections, especially among the clergy, between whom and myself a cordial harmony has

always existed, men who have come to be *settlers* in my native land?

That some of my measures were unpalatable cannot be denied ; but they were the dictates of my conscience and my instructions, and that some of the most honorable and enlightened men were among my political opponents is equally true ; but show me the man whom I have ever given as much as a cross look for his dissent, or even strong censure when unmixed with low personalities or vulgar scurrilities. There are many *such* opponents whom I respect and esteem with unqualified sincerity. What has been mistaken for contempt for public opinion was contempt for that ephemeral species of popularity, which mistakes itself for public opinion, and not being founded on long experience of integrity, truth, and justice, but being a mere momentary impulse of self-interest and deception, soon leaves the idol, or rather the dupe, if not impostor, forgotten or reprobated.

That there were exceptions to the many Pringles, Hudsons, Blaines, &c., is too well known, as I have before me now the warmest effusions of gratitude from one who subsequently perjured himself in an attempt to get me hanged, and when he found that by his base treachery he had helped to raise me in the exact proportion as he had sunk himself in spite of powerful patronage, he ventured upon stigmatising the unstained and unassailable memory of sainted parents thirty and forty years in their graves. But such exception there was perhaps but one, and retribution has been as severe as the stings of conscience and the fumes of alcohol could make it.

Such were the settlers, "and such were my sentiments towards them." Sir Rufane Donkin consigned to me the Scotch party under the Poet Thomas Pringle to be

located on the Baviaans River Lands, which I had indicated to Lord Charles Somerset. He expressed the kindest solicitude about this party, but positively stipulated that I should not resign the portion which I had applied for, saying and writing that the settlers were entitled to 100 acres each, but adding, "now that we have the neutral territory at our disposal we shall not be straitened for land. Several applications have been made to me by persons whose claims I consider well founded, and you admit there are people in your District whose demands are inadmissible, who have asked for three or four grants, and expect to get them all. Though I think you are quite right in not taking any of those grants for yourself, I am certain that such grasping ought not to be allowed when the Government is at a loss how to reward the services of so many meritorious men." I replied that the Board never intended to back extravagant applications; but that this view was very different from that of the Landdrost, who had to report and almost to decide on the claims, becoming the successful claimant himself, and that it was equally different from the suggestion of one section of His Majesty's subjects being swept wholesale out of the country to make room for another section.

Sir Rufane said, "You are quite right," at the same time handing to me the list he alluded to, including the names of Captains Cameron, Harding, and Andrews, Lieutenants Devenish, Hart, Stockenstrom, and Stretch, Mr. Meintjes as acting Landdrost, and others, adding, "I hope you will be able to do justice to these gentlemen as soon as possible." Soon after this His Excellency wrote to me that he wished Colonel Graham to have a grant on the Baviaans River near the Scotch settlers;

but the Colonel wrote me at the same time to say that as he knew my feelings towards him, he must protest against his grant being allowed to interfere with mine. I wrote to Sir Rufane that there was only one more valuable grant, and that therefore I should once more withdraw my claim. His Excellency at first expressed himself displeased ; but on being convinced that it was more convenient for me to wait than for Graham, he issued the grant in favour of the latter.

This grant was Lyndock, now the magnificent property of Mr. Robert Hart Pringle, C.W.H.

Mr. Land Surveyor Leeb being sent to the Kat River by order of the acting Governor to measure the land for the Highlanders, I begged him to look out for a grant for me. I sent his letters to the Colonial Secretary, declining to have anything to do with the inspecting and surveying of, and reporting on the land, and leaving the whole affair to the acting and deputy Landdrosts, the Surveyor, and the Government. This process placed me in possession of Maasstrom, before I had ever seen it, having only once passed it by night with a Commando. This matter will come on the carpet again. Here I shall only add, for reasons above stated, that I do not possess one farthing in the world beyond this grant and my Swagers Hock lands, and the stock, which I have improved thereon. I began with nothing. I was able in the end to balance my father's affairs so as to have a little over for his children. My salaries and pensions were never enough for me to live on decently. When I expected to remain in Graaff Reinet I bought some erven, which I sold without any important profit or loss, and I never entered into speculations of any sort except those herein detailed, so that my children will easily be able to account for everything that they will get from me.

I had been in 1818 on a political mission across the Orange River, when I visited Griqua Town. The acting Governor now desired me to go once more, and extend my travels as far as the Bootchooanas. The object of the expedition was successfully accomplished ; but as nothing of interest occurred beyond what is to be found in my Official Reports, I need only refer to them.

Whilst His Excellency was on the Frontier he received tidings of the accession of King George IV., and he authorised the liberation of a number of prisoners. Ten was the portion for my district. I executed the order without any formality, which brought upon me an attack on the part of the lawyers. I resisted, of course, having only obeyed my superior. Technically, I dare say, the fiscal was right, but among Sir Rufane's private letters will be found the satisfactory solution of the question. I mention this circumstance only not to suppress the only approach to anything like a misunderstanding between the Government and myself during this officer's administration. His Excellency's solicitude about the Scotch settlers was such that he desired me to visit the location in person, in order to see whether the grants of land could be conveniently extended. I consequently proceeded to the Baviaans River about the end of the year (1820), and arranged matters to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Pringle and his followers, and this prevented their removal to the Zuurveld which was contemplated.

Sir Rufane returned to the Frontier once more in 1821, and then extended his travels to the town of Graaff Reinet. His enquiries into the state of affairs and the various branches of the administration were of the minutest character. I submitted to him my plan for

the enlargement of the town by means of a new canal. He also had a long and deliberate discussion with the Heemraden in the presence of a number of the leading inhabitants. It was there explained that all arable land in the town that was not private property was considered *Drostdy ground*, that as the town was extended westward, the Landdrost in compensation for the loss of his corn lands had received the interest of the amount for which the erven were sold; that this had added a reasonable addition to the Landdrost's fixed salary, and that therefore it should be understood that the interest of the amount for which the erven to be created by the new canal were sold, was not to be thus appropriated, but should go to the general revenue of the district. Sir Rufane, having examined the localities, approved of the plan generally, but wished not to be understood to commit himself on the question of the interest last named, as it might affect a future Landdrost; he therefore reserved his decision until it should come before him in due course. The Heemraden subsequently agreed that I should recommend that the interest in question should be devoted to the establishment of a Town Clock. This I did, as the official correspondence will show. Sir Rufane again recommended to my special care his Scotch friends, and, after examining the surveyor's plans, he consented that I should extend the grants to what they subsequently became, and now are, both on the Baviaans River and Mancazana.

His Excellency, when leaving Graaff Reinet, had a narrow escape of his life, and with him several gentlemen of his suite. The horses which were harnessed to his waggon were very fresh and high-spirited; as usual the Burgers were determined to give the King's representative a loyal salute. On the first discharge the horses

started like a shot, and if their owner and manager, old John Oberholster, had not had the courage and presence of mind to keep them equidistant from the lemon trees on either side, as they were flying down Church Street, dashing straight down the precipitous bank of the Sundays River on the one side, and out on the other side into the flat, whilst the firing continued incessant, the scene might have ended most tragically. I accompanied His Excellency to the Metropolis *viâ* Beaufort, the Bokkeveld, and Tulbach. He left the Colony not long after. My business with him during about two years was of the most various, complicated, and extensive nature. His sentiments with respect to my public and private character may be traced in his official and non-official letters ; and I may with pride refer to a speech spontaneously uttered by him some thirteen years after our intercourse ceased, when he happened to be a member of a committee of the House of Commons, before which I was a witness.

Before quitting Sir R. Donkin's administration of the Colony, it may be proper to notice the idea which had been put into his head in consequence of some irregularities that had taken place beyond the Orange River—that it would be expedient to seize the Griquas, escort them into the Colony, and locate them. The execution of this measure was entrusted to me ; but His Excellency fortunately abandoned the measure itself as soon as he received the views which I deemed it my duty to submit to him. The confidential correspondence on this subject between the Secretary, Colonel Bird, and myself will be found among my papers, and the following portions thereof will be found sufficient to place the reader in full possession of the state of affairs. The Colonial Secretary writes as follows :—



[*Confidential*].

“Colonial Office,  
“April 21, 1820.

“SIR,—Since the arrival of Mr. Bird in town, he has received a letter from Mr. Anderson, from which it appears that, owing to the state of confusion and misrule which exists among the emigrated Bastaards, who have settled themselves in the vicinity of his missionary station at Griqua Town and along the banks of the Orange River, he, Mr. Anderson, has quitted his mission station without the intention of returning to it; and a full consideration of the state to which this banditti has brought that part of the border, and of the many serious evils which their misconduct has inflicted upon the peaceable natives of that country, has induced His Excellency, the Acting Governor, to entertain the opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of safety and tranquillity in those parts, and ultimately to the protection of the missionary labours among the Briquas and Corannas, the natives and proprietors of the soil, if steps were now taken for compelling these Bastaards to return within our limits. His Excellency is aware that this can only be effected by surprising them, seizing their fire-arms, and driving their cattle back within the Colonial border.

“His Excellency conceives that if to this measure is added the apprehension of the leaders or pretended chiefs, the families will with great ease be persuaded to return, as Mr. Anderson does not complain so much of their indocility as of their misconduct, acting under the influence which these leaders have obtained over them. Without sufficient knowledge of the country to point out precisely what line should be taken, it is still apparent

that the readiest way for you to obtain assistance for this object is by placing two companies of Cape Infantry at Roode Waal at your disposal, which companies will be moved in whatever direction you may think proper as soon as your other preparations may be ready ; that is, these companies should, if practicable, be moved in wagons, and as light as possible, to bring them, fresh and unfatigued, to the scene of action. You should support them by an adequate number of armed Burgers, and take every measure for their subsistence and supply before you move them. If you are not sufficiently recovered to undertake this service in person, you may entrust it to one of the Deputy Landdrosts, sending with him persons well acquainted with the country to obviate any failure from want of local information. Colonel Willshire has been instructed to send the two companies to Roode Waal whenever you shall acquaint him that you desire it ; but no communication has been made to him or to any other person (Mr. Baird excepted) of the measure in contemplation, it being certain that secrecy only can ensure its success. Should you see objections to the measure altogether, or to the manner pointed out for carrying it into execution, you will be pleased to address your observations to His Excellency Sir Rufane Donkin, who will leave this place on the 29th for Graham's Town, where he will arrive on the 15th of May. Perhaps you may feel that the measure may be best carried into effect by armed Burgers only, or that there may be obstacles to its execution which we do not here see ; you will therefore with your usual candour communicate your opinion fully to His Excellency, which need not impede your preparations or necessitate your awaiting further orders, if you deem it right to proceed. I shall, however, be glad to hear from

you at the same time. Should the removal of these hordes be effected, you are the best judge of the favourable sites for their location in your district: they should have extensive and fruitful spots assigned to them, and nothing but permanent tenure should stand in the way of their being so located wherever such spots may be found. The strictest instructions must be given for the protection of the natives and of the property of the missionary establishment.

“I have, &c.,

“A. STOCKENSTROM, Esq.”

“C. BIRD.

The reply to this letter is as follows:—

“May 5, (1820).

“LIEUTENANT-COL. BIRD,

“SIR,—I am this moment favoured with your confidential communication of the 21st ult., and as Captain Drummond is just starting direct for Town I avail myself of the opportunity to say in answer that I expected something would be done with respect to the Bastards on the Orange River on the part of Government, as you will find hinted in my letter of yesterday. You will also recollect that I have always represented in the strongest terms what was to be expected from a community existing in that state. I shall do all in my power to remedy the evils now coming to a crisis, but as you direct me to be candid I assure you that I think the greatest caution necessary; a sudden attack or surprise would not attain the end we wish for. The country the Bastards occupy is too extensive. I could seize the chiefs before three days elapse, as they can't be far advanced on their return from this, but all their followers now at home would take the alarm, join Buis, and where it would then end is difficult to say. Don't you therefore

think it would be best for me to take the necessary preparations, see His Excellency the Governor, receive his directions, and move quietly by the Saltpan to Griqua Town, stay there a little under various pretences, which can easily be invented, and act according to circumstances, under such restrictions as His Excellency shall prescribe. Firmness and decision will be necessary, and the power vested in the person at the head of the expedition, therefore, must, I allow, be rather extensive ; but His Excellency can choose the most fit person to send. I have a good excuse for my appearance in that country, for I fancy that I gained great influence among the chiefs and people there at the fair, and as I foresaw that something should be undertaken, I promised to visit them this winter. I shall therefore see His Excellency as soon as I can, and lay before him my humble ideas. I hope we will get through the business here to-day, and that I'll be able to write to you more fully from Graaf Reinet if any thing strikes me.

“ I have the honour, &c.,

“ A. STOCKENSTROM.”

Then follows the following to the Acting Governor,

“ Graaf Reinet,

“ May 10.

“ SIR R. S. DONKIN, &c., &c.

“ SIR,—Having received a confidential communication addressed to me by the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the emigrant Bastaards, now residing on and near the Orange River, conveying at the same time your Excellency's views respecting them, resulting from a representation made by the missionary Anderson, and directing me freely to make your Excellency acquainted with my ideas on the subject, I beg leave to enclose

copy of my answer to Col. Bird, and moreover to repeat to your Excellency that it is my humble, but decided opinion that any attempt to carry your Excellency's plan into execution by a surprize must fail. The mischief which must be breeding in such an extensive association, ungoverned, uncontrolled, where every one's will is his only law, is incalculable. The most obvious method of effectually crushing the same in its rapid growth certainly is the transporting the population back to within the limits of our jurisdiction, and making them settle by various parties in several inner parts of the Colony ; but if a force be sent up it must be perceived from a great distance, the country between our boundary and the Orange River is ever full of the Bastards in pursuit of game, the alarm would be instantly given of our approach, and should we ever succeed in reaching some kraals unperceived, the slightest violence (which will certainly be necessary, as the taking of guns and escorting of people will not be tamely submitted to), would make the remainder fly northwards by roads unknown to us, for they have nothing but a miserable hut to leave behind, and consequently are no longer attached to the soil than it removes them from the reach and influence of our laws, or any law. In their flight they would spread false reports dictated by their panic and ignorance of our real object among the tribes beyond them, consternation would become general ; they would commit cruelties and outrages among the savages, who would presume to oppose them, and over whom they have a decided advantage, and would, through an ocean of blood, make themselves masters of the first country in which they would conceive themselves secure from our pursuit, and able to annoy our exposed northern Frontier, like desperadoes, with success and impunity.

They want only a bold leader, and such an one they will find in the well-known Coenraad Buis.

“Yet I am far from thinking that with cautious measures these people may not be brought to a state of order, and subjected to certain rules at the place where they are, or even that they may not be brought back into the Colony as proposed. On the contrary, I think something serious should be done, and that no time is to be lost ; but, in the plan of execution, prudence must be the most conspicuous feature. May I, for instance, take the liberty of laying before your Excellency, with all possible deference to your Excellency’s better judgment, the plan which has struck me to be the most recommendable in the case at issue. I have begun my preparations by ordering between two and three hundred armed Burghers to hold themselves in readiness, under the pretence that your Excellency (being on the Frontier) might wish to travel beyond it, and require a strong escort. If these were placed under the direction of any individual on whose discretion and judgment your Excellency can rely, and moved to Griqua Town with the pretended object of seizing Buis and protecting the Griquas against him, or even of going in search of our unfortunate travellers Cowan and Donovan, who have lately been said to exist among some of the remoter hordes, I think they might be stationed among the Bastaard kraals, nominally for the purpose of recruiting their horses and oxen in such positions as to place the Bastards entirely in their possession, when they shall have had a few days to reconnoitre and get acquainted with the adjacent country, and when everything would be ready for general operations. I certainly see no other method of preventing the effusion of blood, and the frustration of our object. That point carried, it will be easy then to

judge whether those demi-savages can there be organised into a useful, or at least harmless, community, or whether bringing them back to the Colony would be the preferable system. The power of enforcing any local order the person in command may issue among the Bastaards, as well as acting with decision in case of necessity, and varying his plans according to circumstances, should certainly be vested in such Commander or Chief of the expedition, and various other precautions will be necessary, but as epistolatory communication affords but imperfect means of explaining everything as fully as the weight of the subject requires, I beg your Excellency may honour me with an interview. I shall, on the 15th, proceed to the Baviaans River, where I have to make some arrangements for the reception of those emigrants who, Colonel Bird informed me, were intended to be located in this district; any order, therefore, appointing me to repair to any spot on your Excellency's route addressed to Roode Wal or the Somerset farm, will reach me safely and be implicitly obeyed.

"I trust your Excellency will understand that I would not have presumed to start the above difficulties, or make my remarks, were I not informed by Colonel Bird's communication that your Excellency will believe me ready to give every possible support to whatever measure your Excellency may think wise to adopt in the case, even in opposition to my opinion.

"I beg leave to add a sincere hope that your Excellency will not leave the Frontier, without visiting this Drostdy, and have the honour, &c.

"A. STOCKENSTROM."

To this is added the following memo:—

"*N.B.*—At the discussion I had with the Acting Governor at Graham's Town, I took the liberty to point out to



him that even my plan of executing his orders cannot be justified, unless he can consider the Griquas in reality as runaways or marauders, and I did not think the relations we had hitherto held with that people would authorise that view, but we should be open to the charge of foul play. If we say, or can say (which I doubt) that we go to seize *our subjects*, because they murder the defenceless natives—very well; but if we admit that they are domiciliated in that country, what we would call a *surprise* would be open to a worse name. His Excellency was pleased to agree with me, and abandoned the intention altogether.”

The visit to Grahams Town and interview with Sir Rufane Donkin resulted in His Excellency instructing Captain Stockenstrom (as he was then called) to visit Griqua Town, and the Bootchooanas at Latakoo, and to make a full enquiry into the condition of these people and of their relations with the Bushmen tribes. Captain Stockenstrom's report, which is printed at full length in the Blue-book of the House of Commons, dated 18th March, 1835, is full of matter of deep interest, but is far too voluminous to be quoted at length: a few extracts must suffice.

The report is addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Bird, Colonial Secretary, and is dated at Graaf Reinet 13th September, 1820.

“SIR,—Having in consequence of your confidential communication of the 21st April last, on the subject of His Excellency the Governor's views respecting the Griquas, or Bastaards, founded on a report made by the missionary Anderson, laid before His Excellency my sentiments on that head in a letter I had the honour of addressing to His Excellency on the 10th May following, and in subsequent conversations at Fort Willshire and

Graham's Town, I was directed by His Excellency to proceed to the missionary institution at Griqua Town, in order to enquire into the state of the people residing at that place and in the country, considered under the superintendence and protection of our missionaries ; minutely to examine the grounds existing for the representations made by Mr. Anderson, moreover to visit the Bootchooanas at Lattakoo, to establish a good understanding with those savages on a permanent footing, to try to procure an interview with the outlaw Coenraad Buis, and to offer him His Excellency's gracious pardon, &c. &c. I consequently departed from this Drostdy on the 21st July, and after having crossed through the Bushmen country in various directions, visited Griqua Town and several Bastaard Kraals, and stayed a few days among the Bootchooanas at Lattakoo. I returned here on the 1st instant, and beg leave most humbly to submit to His Excellency the following account and representations, &c., &c.

"For a long time back, as is known to Government, I have looked with a suspicious and watchful eye on the increasing tribe calling themselves Griquas, originally allowed to move from more inner parts of the Colony, under the care of a missionary, to the uninhabited tracts near the northern frontier, for the conveniency of a more extended pasturage, which indulgence was so far exceeded or abused that the families composing this their small community have by degrees withdrawn themselves to the Orange River, extending themselves to the borders of the Bootchooana or Briqua Country, and mixing with the Corannas, have taken possession of the banks of the Mud River as high up as the junction of the two branches called the Alexander and Bird Rivers . . . .

“I have given in my official report of the 27th August, 1818, a full account of the opinion I was led to form on my tour through the same country in that year ; and were I to undertake an account of the degree of civilization there to be found, the manners and morals of that people, after this second excursion, I would merely trouble you with a repetition. I have only been confirmed in the sentiments expressed in my answer of the 5th May last to your confidential communication, and in my letter to His Excellency the Governor of the 10th following. It certainly would be desirable to have these Griquas brought back within the limits of the Colony, as was His Excellency's original intention ; but it is no less impracticable, from causes detailed in my letter of the 10th May, and which prevail even to a greater extent than I was aware of . . . In fact, however much we may deprecate the impolicy of the Griquas ever having been allowed to gain such a firm footing out of the Colony, yet as things are now, I am humbly of opinion that it would be still more impolitic either to try to force them back, or to leave them to themselves. The former cause I have said enough of, and will therefore confine myself only to a few remarks on the latter, which I am sorry I cannot do without touching on Mr. Anderson's report when I speak of warding off the evil to be dreaded to the Frontier from a lawless banditti. I am trying to provide for the future, for I by no means agree with Mr. Anderson in the gloomy account he gives of the present state of the Griquas, their desperate intentions, their avowed independence of the Colonial Government, their connection with Coenraad Buis, and their being intent on his, Mr. Anderson's, destruction ; on the contrary, I have convinced myself from personal observations and minute inquiry that his information must have been

vague and ill-founded in many respects . . . . . On my arrival at Griqua Town, I found a great concourse of people, and after a full discussion with the Rev. Mr. Campbell, the missionaries Moffat, Helon and Saas, I was led to believe that my visit of 1818 had not been altogether unattended with beneficial consequences . . . . In how far it will be the business of Government to exercise any authority over these emigrated Colonists would be perhaps presumptive in me to argue, but I think it requires little foresight to predict that if these Griquas be not taken under the protection of the Government, every species of mischief may be dreaded from that quarter. At some future period deserters and vagabonds of every description will mix with them: attacks will be made on the exposed parts of the Frontier, the Bosjesmen will bear the blame, the extent of country lying waste on all sides will make research and pursuit vain, and the Griquas will become the terror of the defenceless tribes within their reach. Whereas, on the other hand, some commissioner or agent, on the part of Government, under wise regulations, acting with discretion and judgment, duly supported, would keep alive the idea of dependence, benefit all the country around, and incur no expense, except what could be amply over-balanced by the profits of a trade with the blacks from the north \* \* \*

“Having thus satisfied myself that no immediate steps against the Griquas were necessary for the safety of the Frontier, I continued my journey to the Bootchooanas, and arrived at New Lattakoo on the 13th of last month. The Chief Matabee expressed the greatest satisfaction at seeing a deputation from His Excellency the Governor in these words: ‘I am now convinced of what I have been told by the missionaries—that the king of Makoa

(or white men) is not only a father to his people, but also to his neighbours.' I made him a present in the name of His Excellency of some sheep, goats, beads, and various trinkets, which he begged of me to deliver in the presence of his people, that even the nations beyond the sun (pointing to the north) might hear of his friendly intercourse with our king.

"I could not help lamenting to find here, as much as among the Griquas, a horrible animosity towards the Bosjesmen, rendered still more frightful by an ancient prejudice, which considers the murder of a Bosjesman, woman, or child, meritorious under any circumstances, and entitles the murderer to speak at the *piatza*, or national assemblies. One of their Commandos returned while I was there, after having annihilated a whole *kraal*. The honours paid to these blood-thirsty warriors indicated the spirit of the nation. They were saluted with the surrounding shouts of hundreds of women, who danced round these cut-throats in disgusting but enthusiastic attitudes and contortions as the column moved into the square, followed by a guard paraded in their war attire to receive them at the entrance of the village. The chief and his principal men were assembled in the square ; and the whole crowd having sat down, Matabee declared that meeting a *Piatza*, which, from the peculiarities of some of its features, is not unworthy of notice ; wherefore you will excuse my occupying a few seconds with a description of the one I was present at.

"The captain of the Commando stood up and began by abusing those who had stayed at home, and expressed his surprise that so many shields and arms as were then paraded were always found when an expedition was over, as at its commencement a general scarcity prevails. The king was loudly censured for effeminacy

in allowing this indifference for the public service ; the women applauded the speech by a shout, and some of the warriors danced round the square. Some of the offended party then addressed the captain, and told him that less boasting and more matter would be preferable ; that women can talk of killing Bosjesmen, but that it was their business to prove that they had really done something. This was answered by a full and apparently exaggerated account of the exploits and hardships the Commando had executed and suffered, interrupted only by the occasional shouts of the women, who seemed most vociferous at the description of the fears and shrieks of the women and children among the victims, and carried to the greatest height of enthusiasm when the death of a Bosjesman by the hand of Matabee's son and apparent successor, and the narrow escape of the prince himself, was related.

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"All that I could collect about Coenraad Buis that can be considered authentic is that, after flying from the Griquas in 1818, he remained some time with a Bootchooana chief, called Sibbenel, who, understanding that he had got his flock of 1400 cattle by plunder from the Goka, took the half ; and Buis, flying on the second report that the Griquas were pursuing him, went so far up country that he had easy and frequent communication with the east coast, and that when Mr. Campbell went up to Currachane, about three or four months ago, he, Buis, was a prisoner with Makaba, Chief of the Wanketzens, who released him on hearing of the approach of the white men, whom Buis had address enough to make Makaba believe would revenge what he had suffered. I was sorry I could not see this wanderer. He has travelled a great deal, and can give most useful

information. He is quite worn out by the restless life he has been obliged to lead; hunted from one tribe to another after his ammunition was exhausted, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and extreme fatigue, without a single horse. He has lost the use of one side, and is really wretched. I communicated to him His Excellency's gracious pleasure by a letter, which the Bootchooana Chief Chakka undertook to deliver, and if he avails himself thereof, his sons might be of incalculable service to any one undertaking discoveries in Africa. Now, to come to the Bosjesmen: it will be almost superfluous, after the mention I had occasion to make of them in speaking of the Griquas and Bootchooanas, to say that those beyond the Orange River are perhaps the most unfortunate beings under the sun. The most cheering reflection (if nothing can be done towards the amelioration of their state) would be, that the persecutions of the two tribes just mentioned will, if they be allowed to continue, in a few years put an end to their miseries by extirpation of their race. They occasionally steal the cattle of these their enemies it is true; but they have no alternative between that and literal starvation. The game in which the country abounds, and on which they depend, has become more scarce than in some parts of the Colony, by the incessant chase of the Griqua, too well mounted and expert with the musket, and the Bootchooanas, too numerous to let anything escape them. They might settle among the Griquas, it may be argued, but I have found few Cornelis Kocks. A Bosjesman, entering the service of a Griqua, runs as much risk of starving as in his kraal unless he steal, and if he do, he is more sure of death than of his meal. Of what benefit then could not an official person as above alluded to be also to this people. \* \* \*



The whole of this report, from which the above are but fragmentary extracts, will be read with intense interest by any one desiring further information on the position of the tribes bordering on, and to the North of, the Orange River in those days, and of our relations with them, as well as of the diplomatic steps recommended by Captain Stockenstrom to be taken in the cause of humanity and civilization, for the encouragement of the missionaries labouring amongst these barbarians, instead of the coercive measures proposed by Sir Rufane Dunkin, and of the great influence for good, which his two visits, the first in 1818, and this second in 1820, had produced.

The result of these recommendations was that Mr. Melvill was appointed Government Agent at Griqua Town.

## CHAPTER X.

1821-1822.

Return of Lord C. Somerset—Upsets all that Donkin had done—First attack on Stockenstrom, and his defence—Judge Buissinné—Bentinck—Visit of Thomas Pringle—Governor assists cause of Education—Rev. A. Smith—Dr. Innes—Rev. A. Murray—Dr. Robertson—Pringle—Fame—Fairbairn—Governor assists Agricultural Society—Merino Sheep—Public Library—Daniel Mills—Hougham Hudson—George Thompson.

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET returned to the Colony at the close of 1821. His meeting with Sir R. Donkin and their squabbles are before the public, and require no comment from me. All those who had been guilty or suspected of anti-Somerset or pro-Donkin demonstrations or sentiments during the Governor's absence, knew what they had to expect, for in Graham's Town it was no secret that his Lordship had made known his determination to cause the weight of his displeasure to be felt. He still had a great deal of influence, and had, whilst in England, entered into his second marriage with a lady, who soon, by her virtues, graces, and benevolence, acquired the universal respect of all classes. If he could but have been made to see that his worthy son was not infallible, his own sense and disposition, with the co-operation of such a partner, would have steered him clear of many vexations, and restored to him his original popularity.

However, to return to my humble self. The first

attack came indirectly. Mr. Buissinné, the brother-in-law of the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bird, was a member of the Court of Justice, and at the same time Receiver-General of Land Revenue. He and I were on very intimate terms. He foresaw that the Secretary was beginning to totter, but had little idea he was so near his own fall. He thought me in danger, and gave me warning that some of the judicial proceedings of the Court over which I presided were undergoing a certain ordeal, and knowing that I had made up my mind *to live upon springbok if necessary*, he said that it was the wish of my friends that I should keep my temper.

Accordingly, I found some criminal sentences of Landdrost and Heemraden rejected when presented for fiat on the ground of informality commented upon by the Fiscal and the Court of Justice. I at once refuted these comments; but the Governor backed the Court, of course, and it was at last maintained that I had no right to enter into a controversy in my capacity as Landdrost individually in a matter which concerned *the Board* as a body. It was insisted that I ought to recall my offensive letter. Buissinné and others (including one apparently in power) urged me to do so. The exact wording of my last communication on the subject I do not recollect; but the whole is on official record, and I think that my concession, made in deference to friends, was the only mistake I made in the whole affair.

It will interest the reader to learn somewhat more of this matter, and the following letter, addressed apparently to the members of the Court of Justice, will suffice for the complete vindication of the Landdrost.

“April 29, 1822.

“GENTLEMEN,—I have duly received your decree of the 11th inst. containing the substance of a letter

from the Colonial Office addressed to your Court on the day before, accompanying the proceedings held, and the sentence given in the criminal action of the Secretary of this district, versus the Hottentot Jacob, by which decree those proceedings are annulled for the reasons therein specified, with directions that the said case should be resumed and prosecuted *de novo*, and, after sentence shall be given, transmitted to your Court for examination. In compliance with which much respected decree (convinced that all your remarks are well founded) I have already directed the Secretary to commence said process anew.

“But whereas said letter from the Colonial Office, and the value I place on your opinion, call upon me to point out whence the information in said criminal process, and others alluded to by the Colonial Secretary, originated, and to prove that the accusation of a ‘want of common attention’ on my part is unfounded, I beg leave to request your notice of the following circumstances :—

“From the day when the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden became vested with their present jurisdiction in criminal cases, there was no one among us in the slightest degree versed in the nature of criminal procedure ; it strikes me that nothing short of the exertion of all our abilities, and the most minute attention to all regulations within our reach, could bring the cases which came under our cognizance to that state, and keep them in that order as to acquire for them the approbation of every one who had the knowledge and right to examine them. None of our sentences were reversed ; no one document met with any censure. The new form of proceedings in criminal cases according to the existing regulations was established, and the same

scrupulous attention again caused the same regularity and consequent approbation in everything of that nature done here to continue uninterrupted until the arrival of the last Commission of circuit at this Drostdy, as can be proved by all the records up to that date. Then, again, I had exerted myself to the utmost of my humble abilities to bring all the cases which I had to prosecute before said Commission into the form prescribed by your decree of the 23rd November, 1820.

“The gentlemen of the Commission (like all those who have visited us in that capacity), always ready to give us their assistance in every thing that can contribute to the welfare of the country, and the execution of our public duties, took a precursory view of those papers, and ordered some alterations which were made, as can be shown by two records still preserved, and now found by the Secretary, viz., of the 11th May, and 18th June, 1821, both in cases decided by said commission, which records point out the form in which the cases were when the Commissioners arrived, and the latter of which contains the alteration scrawled by me in concert with Mr. Jurgens to guide the secretary Miller; whereupon, every thing was, as it were, written over again in order that we might have done our duty if possible, and though the said records are much soiled, I beg leave to enclose them for my own satisfaction.

“Thus all the cases were regularly gone through, and I trusted they were in the best order; and, as we could not possibly have a better form for our guidance than that observed by the Commission, all the Criminal cases before Landdrost and Heemraden were from that moment treated accordingly, and now that those cases undergo a scrupulous criticism, it becomes evident that the whole mistake originated in this, that in meaning to

observe said decree of the 23rd November, 1820, when the prisoners immediately on hearing the Act of Indictment read and explained, confessed the crimes and their culpability, rejected the privilege of the benefit of the 35th Art. of the Crown trial, and they declared that they had no witnesses in their defence, that communication, rejection and declaration were recorded in the form of the interrogatories prescribed by said decree, thus erroneously blending the deed of communication with the summary trial, instead of previously and separately stating that the Act of Indictment was communicated, and that the trial had followed forthwith in consequence of the rejection of the benefit of the term of three days by the prisoner, which rejection the Commission declared to be fully admissible, as subsequently found confirmed by the tacit consent given thereto by your Court in the case of "*Anna Sauer cum suis*" and others similarly treated. Consequently it will be found that only those processes labour under the defects in which the accused were in full confession.

"However, the error escaped the notice of the Commission, and Landdrost and Heemraden stumbled over the same block. By comparing the cases against the accused in confession prosecuted before the Commission, with those against Streesos, Stuurman and Klaas Danzer prosecuted before Landdrost and Heemraden, they will be found every iota alike, yet the sentences given in the former cases were, notwithstanding this, confirmed by the fiat of His Excellency the Governor, without the slightest observation on those informalities, whilst those of Landdrost and Heemraden were annulled, the prisoners therein condemned released, and the cases returned to me accompanied by a letter from the Colonial Secretary containing censures which I felt had not merited. And

the reason why I did not acknowledge the receipt of this communication, as is stated in the letter of the Colonial Secretary to your Court, is (among others, which are not yet called for) one, in consideration of which, I wish I had not been forced to the above explanation. It is this.

“I could not correspond on that subject without making my defence against the remarks contained in said letter. This could not be done without the exposition of all the above circumstances, by which I might have been the cause that such proceedings and sentences of the Commission, as were similar to ours, had been stamped with the same remarks, and I preferred suffering an unmerited censure, to seeing the exertions of men, of whose zeal for the service I had been an eyewitness, and whose feelings I respected, thus rewarded, and never again would I have been heard on the subject, if His Excellency the Governor had been pleased also to send back to us the case of Jacob with reference to the said letter of the Colonial Secretary of the 28th December.

“It must be perfectly clear to everybody that as the last mentioned case was decided on the 15th December, consequently despatched long previous to the writing of said letter, in which the errors were pointed out, that case could not but be equally defective with the others, and therefore indeed might deserve the same censure, but certainly could never afford cause for new, and more severe measures, especially as it must have struck His Excellency how easily such a mistake could be committed by me, whereas even the worshipful the Court of Justice, from whom we have always thankfully received instructions, did not reflect on those informalities when the same case of Jacob came before them on the 6th December, with all its imperfections for their further



provision and orders. On which occasion these defects even escaped the notice of my official agent.

“However, though I have considered it my duty to defend myself against the severe animadversions of Government, I trust that my arguments will not be considered as intended to induce His Excellency to relinquish his intention, wherewith I am threatened in the letter of the Colonial Office to your Court, viz., to adopt other measures in order to ensure ‘a proper administration of justice in this District.’ The necessity of other measures in this District has begun to develop itself such a considerable time back, that it would betray the greatest want of penetration not to have been long ago satisfied what was considered the only means to bring about the desired reform ; but, as no doubt, the Government will only be influenced by motives of public justice, all other considerations will of course give way.

“No one can be better convinced than I am that this District requires at its head a man, who, with the will, unites the talents to execute properly the various complicated and numerous duties which he must meet with, and no one can more sincerely feel and acknowledge his inability to go through the whole of them infallibly than I do. Too well am I aware of the sacred duty imposed upon His Excellency, not to leave or to place situations of such consequence in the hands of men in whom honour, integrity, abilities and merit are not united, and too sincerely do I wish that that duty may never be violated under any circumstances whatsoever, to expect for one moment that anything on earth should plead on my behalf.

“But be the result of these new measures what they may, this conviction shall never forsake me that no one

shall ever be able to prove a want of attention and zeal, or any wanton misdeeds in my administration, whereas I am, on the other hand, ready to show, when called upon, that I have tried to the best of my abilities (however feeble) to comply with my oath, and duties, with sincere solicitude for the welfare of the District, a faithful attachment to the interest of Government, without the slightest dread, or anything, except due respect for those to whose orders I was subject, and with the utmost indifference how soon my administration discontinued after it should cease to be useful.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, &c., &c.

"A. STOCKENSTROM."

No more thorough vindication of himself could be imagined, and the letter has been given at full length because it contains such an emphatic statement of the principles by which he was guided, and which pervaded every act of his long and eventful life ; his readiness to sink every personal consideration for the good of the Colony, and his earnest endeavour to perform his every duty conscientiously to the utmost of his ability without fear of the consequences whatever they might be—but we must continue the narrative as given by his own pen.

The ruin of poor Buissinné himself I shall only refer to in as far as I came remotely in contact with it. Coming to my residence in his capacity as Judge on Circuit, and being at the same time the medium, through which the Land rent, which it was my duty to collect, was to find its way to the treasury, he said to me, "Have you any Land rent in your hands?" I replied, "Yes, and I wish you would relieve me of it, for I have the greatest difficulty in getting money remitted to Cape Town." He readily took it, and on a small slip of paper gave me a receipt for the amount,

fortunately and accidentally without my desiring it, adding the words "*Recognitie Penningten*." Soon after this his defalcation was discovered, including the money received from me.

Mr. Bentinck likewise was member of the Court of Justice whilst he held the office of Auditor General. I do not accuse him of malice. There had never been an unpleasant word between us. I daresay he believed he was doing his duty. That Buissinné was criminal his best friend cannot deny ; whether his relationship to the doomed Secretary did or did not tell against him I leave to those who were near enough to peep behind the scenes. Be this as it may, but it certainly was suspected that two birds might be killed with one stone, as the Auditor, knowing that I had given a considerable sum of money to his brother Judge, had a right to take it for granted that I was accessory to the misapplication of the public Revenue.

An order came up calling upon me, by return of post, to send up an *authenticated* copy of Buissinné's receipt. There was no time for tampering or collusion, so that if there had been a mere acknowledgment of money received without official signature or shape, my payment would have been construed into a private transaction, and I should have had to submit to the loss of the money, besides some well-seasoned reprimand *at least*. Unfortunately for the Auditor Judge, the return post brought him the District Secretaries Notarial Copy of a document containing the accidental faithful words "*Recognitie Penningten*," not only, but I was able to refer him to the specified lists of the said Land Rent, which I had sent to his own office, so that it became *his* duty to take care that the Receiver General paid the money into the public treasury and it would be due to

the neglect of his own department if the Government should be the loser. I had thus had another narrow escape.

Poor Buissinné's subsequent career, particularly his end, was indeed melancholy. His kindness of heart, and gentlemanlike demeanour had made him many friends, who regretted his extravagance, and lamented his fall. The dismissal of his more prudent, equally talented and more experienced relative, who had for years been the most influential, and most powerful official in the Colony, caused a great sensation not unmixed with that satisfaction, which the reverses of men long vested with extensive patronage often inspire. To me it was a source of unqualified regret.

The history of these reverses is too well known to require any details on my part. The Governor, the Acting Governor, and the Secretary himself, have all been heard, and public opinion is made up. (Colonel Bird died at Bruges in Belgium about the middle of 1861, at the age of ninety-one.)

But I am anticipating dates, and must bring you back to the Governor's return. Some months after this event Mr. Thomas Pringle, head of the only party of settlers located in my District, reached my house on his way to Cape Town, where he intended to reside, having received from the Governor the offer of the office of Librarian of the Public Library. From what little I knew of Mr. Pringle till then, I entertained a warm liking for his person, and great respect for his character. He was delighted with his then prospects, and happy in the idea that he was leaving his party with the brightest prospects before them, after the arrangements settled with reference to the lands to be granted to them, which arrangements I could point out to him as then in my

office, sanctioned by Sir Rufane Donkin the year before. These anticipations, I am glad to say, have been realised to the fullest extent, as the Pringle clan, and their adherents in South Africa, prove and admit, and the old District of Graaf Reinet may be proud of them, as they ought to be proud of and grateful to it.

To return to Thomas in the Drostdy House. I found him most frank and communicative, very sanguine in his ideas connected with the establishment of a free press in the Colony, and the promotion of education and liberty ; and I cannot help thinking that we have been too much disposed to overlook the services, struggles, sufferings, sacrifices, and losses, even unto death, of this excellent man in these glorious causes ; for, among all the compliments which we have been lavishing upon each other, and upon ourselves, his name has hardly ever been heard.

This reminds me of one of the instances in which Lord Charles Somerset proved the deep interest, which he could take in everything connected with the welfare of the Colony, when he was left to the guidance of his own judgment, unbiassed by the influence and insinuations of those, who were constantly at work to poison his mind. I have already stated his Lordship's discussion with the Board of Heemraden in Graaf Reinet in 1817, particularly respecting the state of education, with his reply and promise. Pringle gave us strong hopes ; but I had reason to fear that my district was going to lose its minister, the Rev. A. Faure, who had proved himself a zealous promoter of the religious, moral, and intellectual culture of his congregation.

Whilst I was in this dilemma, wondering where a successor for such a man would be found, there followed the Governor from the mother country, and were by him

at once sent to the Eastern Districts, the Rev. Alexander Smith, and Mr. (now Dr.) James Rose Innes, who fell to the lot of Uitenhage, and the Rev. Andrew Murray, and Mr. (now Dr.) William Robertson, who came to Graaf Reinet as District Ministers, and Government teachers. These gentlemen, and their whole career are so well known, that any eulogy of mine would be quite superfluous ; but I have no hesitation in saying that their arrival formed indeed a crisis in the progress of those parts, where they had to labour, and whatever may have been the Governor's feelings towards me personally, I considered myself as a magistrate and a member of society deeply indebted to him for the appointment of these men.

Messrs. Smith and Murray are still engaged in the pious work which I saw them commence five-and-thirty years ago, and on the same spots. They are getting old like myself, but the good, which their Christian benevolent example and precepts have done, stand recorded in the state of the community as far as their influence has extended, and in the respect and the affection of every decent and worthy member of their flocks, and indeed of every such member of any flock who knows them.

The same may be safely said of the two teachers as to their usefulness and conduct with their results. They, at once, besides the Government schools in which they were sent to teach, and in which their zeal and industry were as conspicuous as their success was complete, set up private classes for the higher branches of knowledge to which any respectable youth could find admission, and in which several persons, who have risen to importance, were taught.

To these two men therefore, backed by their two

Reverend brother immigrants, and to the effort of Lord C. Somerset, in continuation of the views of his predecessor of 1813 as formerly recorded, may be traced the first great and most successful step forward in the Colonial educational system, so well backed and followed up a few years later by poor Stoll and his friends of the South African College, and still later by those estimable men Sir George Napier, Sir John Herschell, and Sir John Bell. To them, I say, the Colony does indeed owe a deep debt of gratitude, which seems almost obliterated by the very glare of the results which they initiated. They were ably co-operated with by others, who came out under the Governor's auspices about the same time, but who were placed in other parts of the Colony remote from me, so that I knew less of them.

Other Ministers of the Gospel and teachers followed successively, some were men of the highest character and first-rate abilities. Drs. Innes and Robertson did not remain to reside in the localities where they commenced their Cape career, but they have up to this moment never ceased to serve the Colony; the former now holding the Office of Superintendent General of Education, in which, at an advanced time of life, upon a paltry pittance, he struggles through labours which would exhaust any two of the strongest and ablest of men, besides co-operating with head, hand, and heart in every useful, civilising enterprise; and the latter, having been ordained, preaches to and teaches rich and poor, old and young, black and white, with the most unwearied zeal, and the most blessed happy effects. Here, then, we have the numerically small immigration of 1822; and who will maintain that there were not many such characters among the greater influx of 1820.



I have already in earlier pages given some names which did honour to the community, and which could easily be swelled out by numbers equally respectable. What an idiot therefore would that man have been, who could either in or out of power "*set his face against the settlers as a body*;" but equally certain is it that not only a fool, but something worse is he, who could expect me for the sake of a little contemptible temporary popularity falsely to depict the mass as compounded of the material in which we have just been glorying.

Nearly contemporary with the début of Drs. Innes and Robertson, started up the kindred undertaking of my friends Pringle and Faure in Cape Town, who being soon afterwards joined by Mr. Fairbairn, whom I have elsewhere spoken of, placed East and West on an equal footing in their educational prospects, which certainly at the time appeared most brilliant, and have never since ceased to increase in hopefulness to the present day; thanks to Providence their old friends still live to enjoy the triumph of their efforts.

The history of the collisions of two of the latter gentlemen and the Government is well known, as is my opinion thereon; so that I need not enlarge on them here, except in repeating that the Imperial authorities behaved, if possible, worse than the Local Government, and I prefer to devote the next few lines to another instance of the Governor's readiness to serve the Colony, especially its agricultural interests. The Board of Heemraden considered it their duty to initiate something in the shape of an Agricultural Society; that which had been established under the Dutch administration having died a natural death, and the one revived by the Government Notice of the 16th Oct., 1812, had not extended its influence into the interior of the Colony.

Such an establishment in a "*remote semi-barbarous region*," as Graaf Reinet was "thought in those days, could not be otherwise than a poor beginning, but it was to begin somewhere, and the time seemed to have come for some combined effort to *force*, if I may so call it, the Merino Sheep into the vast frontier Districts.

The Heemraad Rabie was the only individual, except, I believe, Messrs. Reitz and Breda, who had a single animal of the kind. At least, east of Swellendam, there was no such thing, unless there were some few brought out by the settlers, who were but just located. Mr. Rabie had kept his as a curiosity, or pet flock, as obtained through the Dutch Society, and he had kept them very pure. From him the new Society obtained two hundred ewes (in exchange for two thoroughbred stallions) which were to be kept on two of the Drostdy farms. The Governor, on being applied to for his patronage, not only at once consented, but sent some splendid rams from the Government Establishment, "Groote Post," as a present to the society.

The Heemraden, even those, who retained their prejudices for the broad-tailed sheep, set apart small flocks, procured rams, and began to cross by way of example and encouragement to others; they persuaded some of their friends to do the same. The society soon extended beyond the board. Several public-spirited and far-seeing men joined them, and they soon found a market for all the rams which they could breed, besides seeing by degrees numbers brought in from the upper country, and from beyond the sea. By the kindness of Mr. John Pringle they were shown how to manage their wool, for which they obtained a remunerating price, and thus convinced their fellow farmers that more was to be got from the back, than from the tail of a sheep.

The Society had not the means of keeping a stud, or importing bulls, and could only encourage private individuals to do as they did in other branches of improvement, so far as their very limited resources would enable them. For instance, I recollect their voting a covering stallion to one Abel Pienaar of the Brak River, as a bonus for having been the first to construct a substantial dam of mason work across the stream for irrigation. There was also a complimentary resolution passed (they had not the means of doing more), in favour of one Field Cornet Petgieter, who was the first to contrive extensive dams for the collection and preservation of rain water, which example was forthwith extensively followed. The Society, however poor and insignificant it necessarily was, may be said to have flourished until 1828. What has become of it since can easily be traced, as its transactions were minutely recorded, and its accounts scrupulously kept. In 1861, I found in the hands of Mr. G. Watermeyer a book containing the *Records*. Mr. Watermeyer had received them from Mr. Leeb. Nobody seemed to care about them, and I have added them to my other papers in the state I received them: a pretty state indeed. I left them, when I last left the Cape, in the hands of Dr. Innes.

A public library was also attempted. Rees's Cyclopædia, with other books of reference, and a number of standard works, as also lighter reading, to the amount of several hundred volumes, were placed in a spare room in the public offices, accessible to every decently dressed person. Mr. Daniel Mills, a respectable literary gentleman, far advanced in years, was one of the settlers, but finding farming in the Zuurveld beyond his powers, he had removed with his family to Graaf Reinet, where his daughters, two accomplished young ladies, set up an

academy, and he, having nothing to do, and being fond of books, was glad to become Librarian. His income was of course miserably small, and as he saw better prospects in Cape Town, he proceeded thither with his family. The library for want of readers was shut up.

I might sooner have mentioned the arrival of Mr. Hougham Hudson and his lady, who likewise, having found farming in the Zuurveld unsuited to their tastes and habits, determined to try what could be done in Graaf Reinet, and reached it 1820 or 1821. A clerkship happened to become vacant in the Landdrost's office, of which Mr. Hudson availed himself. By dint of industry, zeal, and integrity, he got himself successively promoted to the office of District Clerk, Magistrate, Commissioner for the Frontier tribes, Lieutenant Governor's Secretary, and finally Civil Commissioner of Albany, and is now worn out, but in enjoyment of a respectable pension, whilst he sees the whole of his large family respectably placed, his eldest son having been Civil Commissioner of Somerset since he was twenty-five, and the younger ones likewise holding responsible offices and behaving very well.

Mr. George Thompson's travels across the Orange River ought likewise here to be noticed, but as he has since published a most interesting account of them I need not enter into detail.

## CHAPTER XI.

1823—1826.

Commissioners of Enquiry—Hostility of Dr. Philip—Lieut. Bonamy surveys Boundary—Boundary between Graaf Reinet and Albany—Commissioners at Graaf Reinet—Toorn Berg—Northern Border—Griquas—Bergenaars—Bushmen—Landdrost accused of trading with Bushman Children—Amusing Story—Grants of Land to Landdrost—District Accounts scrutinised—Landdrost's farming Establishments—Pompey—Accident to Mr. Bigge—Amusing Complaints—Further details—Boundary of Colony—Description of Country—Condition of Bushmen—Corannas—Pursuit of Robbers—Difference in Condition of Bushmen and Kaffirs—Rev. A. Murray—Anecdote—Black-faced ewe.

WE now come to another crisis in the History of the Colony. The Commissioners of Enquiry, Mr. Bigge and Major Colebrooke, with their Secretary Mr. Gregory, reached Cape Town about the middle of 1823, and it now became more and more evident that the Governor and Colonial Secretary could not much longer act together. This would have been the proper place to introduce the downfall of the latter officer and his brother-in-law, which I brought in further back, for it was supposed at the time that the inquiries of the Commissioners did indirectly influence those unfortunate cases. Every functionary was on the *qui vive*, not knowing where the next blow was to fall. An ex-treasurer had to commit suicide in consequence of some awful "*oversight*," which the said "nasty prying Inquisitors" had stumbled upon. I received warning to look sharp, as the latter officers had received from the Super-

intendent of the London Missionary Society, Dr. Philip, terrible charges about my dealings with the Missionary Institutions, my treatment of the aborigines, and my encroachment on the Bushman Country by my "late Boundary."

To understand this latter point, it must be known that in 1822 Lieutenant Bonamy of the 6th Regt., then quite a stranger, but ever since one of my dearest friends, and now Colonel Bonamy, reached Graaf Reinet, as acting Engineer, to sketch the line of boundary which I was ordered to fix on the east and north of my district, including Cradock and Beaufort. . The professed objects were to do away with doubts caused by imaginary lines mentioned in the law; to include within the Colony those farmers, who had unintentionally or ignorantly emigrated beyond those lines, and for the future to check all further encroachment. This of course was quite impossible without including a great extent of the depopulated Bushman Country. About the same time I received instructions to fix the limits between my district and that of Albany, then lately created by the Acting Governor, who had appointed Major Jones Landdrost. This officer the Governor superseded, and appointed Mr. Rivers. I suggested that as the line to be fixed would come in contact with the ceded territory then included in Albany, it would be right that Mr. Rivers should be joined to me, and have a voice in the Commission. I received a saucy answer, directing me to do just what I was ordered. Suspecting this to be a snare, I took with me the engineer, a Heemraad, &c., and recommended what they approved of. To the *warning*, I replied that I had done my duty since the day I entered the public service, adding my old consolation, "as a bachelor I could live on Springbok."

After many months' laborious investigation in Cape Town the Commissioners proceeded to the interior. Their proceedings are before the public, so that I shall only add such particulars as bear more especially upon the main object of these notes. Passing over therefore their collision with the Landdrost of Uitenhage, and the fracas which accompanied their entrance into Graham's Town, I shall bring them at once to Graaf Reinet, where their reception was even more enthusiastic than in the former town, without however producing the same collision between the officials, and the mass of the inhabitants, as Mr. Bigge was pleased to remark that the demonstration appeared to be as much in my favour, as in that of the Commission. Be this as it may, the evident proof that the popular feeling went with me did not remove the Anti-Stockenstrom prejudices that they had imbibed. Nothing could be more dignified and gentlemanlike than the whole of their intercourse with me, but the dash which they at once made, by direct as well as indirect anatomical probing into my territory annexation system, my Bushman commandoes, my oppression of missionaries, my late land grants, &c., &c., soon convinced me that my information as to the ordeal, which I was to go through was perfectly correct. Major Colebrooke, on account of his lady's indisposition, had to hurry to Cape Town, but his colleague and the Secretary took care that the scrutiny should not suffer from his absence. Some strange idea had got hold of these men that I was identified with Colonel Bird in everything, which was accounted for by my being *like him a Roman Catholic*. My old friend Hart, being questioned on the subject, answered in his off hand way, "What he is I cannot tell, but I know what he is *not*, and that is a Papist." For my new boundary I had the



order of the Governor to show, as well as the impossibility and the inexpediency of avoiding the measure. Fortunately the engineer, Captain Bonamy, happened to be in the town. They consequently had within call the opinion of an educated high-minded British officer, who could in no way be under my influence, and who could give them the best possible information as to my system of annexation, and my treatment of the natives.

*Toorn Berg*  
Then came the London Missionary Institution which had been broken up in the Bushman country by order of the Colonial Government. The locality was called by the Boers "Toorn Berg," or "Mountain of Wrath," or rather "Tower Hill," from the shape of the cone. The missionaries changed the name into that of "Genade Berg," or "Mountain of Grace," and it is now called "Colesberg." The correspondence is extant. Of course, I readily admit that the process of ejection was summary and arbitrary, such as would not go down at the present day ; but that the establishment had become a public nuisance, through the conduct of its manager, could not be disputed by the warmest supporters of the sacred cause, which the London Society was trying to promote. When Mr. Bigge had gone through the papers he said, "This case would have come before Parliament, if it had not been placed in our hands, and it may yet come there," adding in a tone which proved that he suspected that the land from which the missionary had been removed had been given to some favourite competitor "and what has become of the locality?" He was not a little taken aback when I told him : "when the whole country was placed at my disposal to be distributed among the applicants, there were numerous candidates for Toorn Berg, as well as for Vander Walt's fontein,

but I rejected them all, and reserved the whole tract, which is now at the disposal of Dr. Philip, if he chooses to send there a missionary capable of conducting the institution properly and decently."

I shall here at once dispose of this question by adding that Dr. Philip visited the northern border the following year and repudiated the station altogether, preferring to have the establishment beyond the Orange River, at a place now called "Philipton." It ought here to be noticed that up to the year 1822 or 1823 all the country east of Ramah between the Orange and Vaal Rivers to the great chain of Wittebergen, was unoccupied, except by here and there a Bushman kraal. I had had great trouble to prevent the colonists taking possession of it. In very dry seasons it became impossible to prevent their making temporary migrations into it. The remnants of the several tribes that had been overwhelmed by Chaka then began to be heard of as taking possession of the upper parts of the Caledon. The Kok party of the Griquas about the same time rebelled against their Chief Waterboer, migrated eastward, and thence obtained the name of Bergnaars. Some of them were guilty of great atrocities towards the black fugitives, but gradually order was restored and a missionary establishment settled in the midst of them. The colonists were very indignant that such a people should be allowed to obtain possession of this land, but as long as I remained in authority as Commissioner General, we did not think it our duty or our right to interfere with them. They settled down and became a peaceable and useful community with whom we entered into treaties, which we shamefully violated in more ways than one.

Here I wish it to be particularly noticed and remembered, how as early as 1823, we colonists were desirous

of migrating across the Orange River and possessing ourselves of that part of Bushman or Hottentot Land as we and our fathers had done with the more southern parts, for I shall have hereafter to refer to this important matter.

But to revert to the Toorn Berg. Applications for this and the adjacent lands were forthwith renewed, but I allotted it to the only Christian Church then in the country. In 1827 I for the first time collected taxes there. A vast concourse assembled, and the Rev. A. Murray for the first time performed religious services on the spot to a delighted and grateful multitude. The Governor, Sir L. Cole, when he visited the interior, approved of the measure, and allowed his name to be given to the Toorn Berg, which is now the flourishing commercial capital of a district of its own name, to which I subsequently, as Lieutenant Governor, had the satisfaction of appointing as its first Civil Commissioner the worthy and much lamented Mr. Rawstorne.

To return to the Commission of Enquiry, it must be understood that I considered their solicitude about the Bushmen nothing more than their most sacred duty, but a rather amusing incident will show how they were crammed with tales, such, for instance, as my sending out Commandos to supply my friends with young Bushmen servants. They had seen serving at my table two boys of the latter tribe, as clever and efficient waiters as any in a first-rate London hotel. I found that they had caused the slave registers of my family to be examined. Knowing what they were after I confess I took pleasure in stimulating their suspicions, until at last it came to a crisis in the discussion of my mission to the Griqua and Bootchooana countries in 1820, when Mr. Bigge, having asked and obtained a copy of my report, said, "I have

perused this document with deep interest, particularly that part which refers to the Bushmen, and it is but candid to tell you that we have been informed upon authority, to which we are bound to attach some weight, that the abominable system of taking the children of these savages, and bringing them into slavery in the Colony, is in full operation.

My reply was, "If I could trace out such a case, the perpetrator would be severely punished." "But," resumed the Commissioner, "I am sorry to say that we have received a written statement offering to prove that you yourself, during this very expedition, described in this report, did bring with you a bush boy and a bush girl." "The proof offered," said I, "is superfluous, for what you have been told is a fact." "And," said Mr. Bigge, "that in defiance of the most judicious and positive law," holding up the proclamation on the subject. "No," I answered, "but in strict conformity with that very law, which I myself got enacted, as a letter, of which I shall send you a copy as soon as I get to the office, will prove to you, for the express purpose of checking the evil, which you so justly deprecate without preventing the exercise of the duties of humanity in saving perishing creatures, which these two were." Mr. Bigge reperused the proclamation: but it is well here to state that Captain Black and Doctor Finan of the 54th Regiment, with the lady of the former were of the party. The Commissioner having gone through the law, said, "This is very obscure, but allow me to ask what has become of the two poor children? They may be in bondage with some cruel Boor." "That I am responsible for," said I, "I know that they are in good hands. Captain Black of the 54th took charge of the boy, and Mrs. Black of the girl." "What!" exclaimed

Mr. Bigge, rising from his seat, "my friend Dougal, I know Black intimately. While in Graham's Town I was at his house every day, and saw these children as happy as the days are long, full of fun." "Well," said I, "they would have been dead of hunger in less than twenty-four hours, if we had not taken them to our wagons." I must do Mr. Bigge the justice to say that he expressed and seemed to feel great pleasure at the turn the affair had taken, and from that moment we were more at home together.

Yet there remained the question of the grants. My own was of course fair game, and I was glad to see it close run, as I knew the ground on which I stood. I necessarily began with referring to Lord C. Somerset's first offer, to which I had several witnesses on the spot; next, to what took place between Sir Rufane Donkin and myself, and the ultimate result was that after much correspondence, and reference to the Land Board and other departments, the Commissioners could find no other flaw in my title than that the anti-slave-labour-clause had not been inserted, which was no business of mine, and which clause by-the-bye, was an unblushing impudent sham from first to last. However, this grant must again come upon the carpet.

Then, there was my brother's grant, but it was shown that so far from being specially favoured; he stood prominently on the list of Sir R. Donkin's promises;—that he consequently applied for the land between the first and second drifts, near the town; that the Board of Heemraden rejected the claim as interfering with the Town Common, and the irrigation of the land below, and that he had to content himself with a slip of land on the Fish River, for which, when he left the Colony, he could only obtain a trifle. In all the other grants did

not only the same authorities exist, but they were found to have been made to men who had ample claims.

The District Accounts were overhauled of course. "Hullo, here is an item: Interest to the Landdrost. Does he lend money to the district, and spend it in building fine stables like the Governor of New South Wales. Gregory, call for a list of all those who have lent money to the District." This list soon made its appearance. "Your name is not on this list," said Mr. Bigge to me next morning. "For a good reason, as I am too poor to lend ten dollars to any one. But here is the District charged with interest paid to you!" In a few moments Mr. Hudson was there with Sir John Cradock's authority to turn the Drostdy Corn fields into streets, and to let the interest of the amount which the Erven would sell for, be paid to the Landdrost as compensation. So here was another mystery cleared.

Then there were my farming establishments. I knew that the Commissioners thought that the public officers should not be allowed to farm, as it interfered with their duties, and threw certain temptations in their way. On the latter point they were right, but if they are not to be trusted get rid of them. I told Mr. Bigge at once that though I should be happy if the horses, cattle, and sheep of my district should be improved through my flocks, I was bound to admit that my main object was profit to myself, so as to render myself independent of the Government, of which I saw the necessity more and more every day. But then it was known that my stallion was one of the celebrated animals imported by Lord C. Somerset, about which there was so much scandal in those days. Mr. Bigge was of course desirous to see so fine a horse. He admired him very much, and seeing

him very delicate about his questions as to his value, and so forth, I cut the matter short by saying, "I never had any dealing with the Governor for one shilling, either in horse-flesh. or any thing else. Pompey was imported by him, and sold to a breeder near Cape Town, of whom I had never even heard till then, for seven thousand rix-dollars on credit. This gentleman, after having had the use of the horse for a couple of seasons, sold him to Mr. Melk for five thousand Rds. on credit, and Mr. Melk, after having him three seasons, sold him to me for the same sum cash. I have had him three seasons, and would not part with him for five thousand now, so that certainly Lord Charles did not obtain an unreasonable price for him ; and he has already done an incalculable deal of good to the Colony."

Mr. Bigge seemed pleased, but in connection with this matter there remains an event to relate, which caused me, as well as every decent being in the place, great pain. I cannot tell what had put it into the heads of the Commissioners that I was building splendid stables for my stud at the public expense, on one of the Drostdy farms. These Mr. Bigge was determined to see. He borrowed a horse, and by himself started off in the direction of Winterhoek. He could see no stables, because there were none to see, except a shed, for which there was not a farthing on the public accounts, except some convict labour in quarrying the stones. But in returning to town Mr. Bigge tried to find a short cut and lost himself. Long after dark Mr. Gregory came to me in great consternation to say that the Commissioner was away alone, where he did not know an inch of the country. Immediately the population was in motion. Bonfires blazed on every conspicuous spot, cannon and muskets roared, and patrols were sent out in every



direction, till long after midnight. Our anxiety was relieved by the appearance of our lost friend without horse, his clothes tattered, and his skin bruised and torn. He, by some inexplicable movement, when daylight disappeared, found himself on top of the high precipitous ridge overlooking Graaf Reinet on the north-east, where he saw and heard all our signals, but could not move without abandoning his steed, and scrambling down one perpendicular rock after another, through thorny jungles of the worst character. After a night and day of fever and suffering he was able to continue his business ; but I was sorry to hear that, owing to a peculiar constitution, the consequences of the scratches annoyed him through life.

As a set-off against this distressing occurrence, I may mention something of an amusing character. Towards the close of Mr. Bigge's sojourn in Graaf Reinet he and I became less reserved, when he said to me, " I am told that to get at grievances and abuses, I must send for a certain Radical friend of yours (naming the individual) who will soon let me into the official misdeeds. I have summoned him accordingly." " Depend upon it," said I, " he will give you enough of it." After the interview the interpreter came to my clerks with roars of laughter, giving the following ludicrous account of my friend's complaints and remedies.

Mr. Bigge after a dignified speech on the objects of his mission, his anxiety to know the evils under which the country laboured, his conviction of the readiness of His Majesty's Government to bring about reform, and his belief that his present informant could throw much light on the subject, requested of the latter to make such statement as he thought fit.

" Ja, Mynheer—twee groote plaagen het wy hier—

dat is, die taxen, en diemeiden. Papiere geld verdwynd alle dagen meer en meer, zoo dat er geen fondsen onder de menschen is om de Keyzer te geven wat des Keyzers is, en de meiden plaag onze vrouwen zoodanig dat er geen huis mee to houden is."

"Yes, Sir, we have two great plagues here that is, these taxes, and these maidservants. Paper money is growing daily less and less, so that there are no funds among the people wherewith to render to Cæsar what is Cæsars, and the maidservants provoke our wives so much, that it is impossible to keep house with them."

This reply was such a poser that the Commissioner, for the sake of keeping his countenance, thought best to break up the conference as soon as possible, by asking the witness whether he had any suggestions to make. Of course he had "Je moet maaken, Mynheer, dat de Gouvernment meer papiere geld slaat, en dat wyvy de Hottentots meiden onder de sambok kan krygen."

"You must get the Government, Sir, to coin more paper money, and to allow us to thrash the Hottentot maidservants." Here a convenient fit of coughing forced the Commissioner into a back room, with request to the interpreter to get rid of *my friend* as civilly as possible. Mr. Bigge dining at the Drostdy that day amused the company after dinner with a lively description of the scene.

I need not here enter upon the many discussions which I had with Messrs. Bigge and Gregory, on the virtues and vices of our Colonial system, particularly on the Boards of Heemraden, which I thought ought to be made popularly elective, because these discussions, like most of the above statements, are on official record, so that there only remains for me to add that I parted with these gentlemen on the best of terms, as will be further

seen in the sequel ; that I am not aware that in any one of their reports they have stated one word to my disadvantage, and that for them and their colleagues, I have ever since entertained the most profound respect. The Commissioner returned to Cape Town.

The reader will hardly be satisfied with so cursory a view as is here given of the events recorded in this chapter, and a few extracts from public and private documents in further elucidation of the subjects referred to, will no doubt be acceptable, following the order in which they are referred to above, viz., the so called Annexation Scheme, or extension of the Boundary,—the state of the Bushmen—and the conflict with missionaries.

Hitherto the Boundary of the Colony had been that proclaimed by Lord Macartney in 1798, which was

1. The great Fish River as far as Esterhuis Poort at the Kacha's (Kagas) Tail.

2. The whole of the Kaga Mountains as far as the Tarka Mountains.

3. From the Tarka to the Bamboes Mountain.

4. From the Bamboes Mountain to the Suure Mountain.

5. From the Suure Mountain to the Edele Heers Beacon, situate on the Zeekkoe (Seacow) River.

6. From the Edele Heers Beacon across the Zekoe River as far as the Great Table Mountain, forming thus a semicircle from the east coast at the outermost limit to the west. And between the inhabitants of Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein and the Bosjesmen.

7. The Nieuwe Veld Mountains.

8. The Reed and Fish Rivers behind the Roggeveld Mountains.

9. The Spiou Mountains.

10. The Kobies Kouw.

11. The Long Mountain.

12. The north corner of Kamus Mountain.

13. The River Koussie.

The proclamation defining the Boundary contained moreover the following clauses, forbidding Colonists going beyond the border.

“And whereas it is necessary that those boundaries should be duly observed, I therefore most strictly forbid all and every one of the inhabitants of the Colony from either settling themselves, or permitting their cattle to pass beyond those limits, under the penalty of immediate confiscation of all their cattle, to be applied to the benefit of the Colony, and as disobedient subjects, to be banished from this settlement.

“And it is also hereby declared unlawful, under pain of corporal punishment, for any person under pretence of Seacows or Elephants, or taking a journey into the interior part of the country, to pass beyond the aforesaid limits, unless he shall be provided with a pass, in writing, from the Governor, which pass is there to be exhibited before the fiscal, and the Landdrosts of the three Country Districts.”

The Commissioners of Enquiry, having called upon Landdrost Stockenstrom to account for his proceedings in including within the new border a considerable tract of country, which had hitherto been regarded as Bushman country, and having made special reference to the condition of the Bushmen, as likely to engage the attention of His Majesty's Government and of Parliament, he replied at great length under date 9th August, 1826. That reply contains such a full statement of the condition of the country at that time that no apology is necessary for quoting the greater part of it.

“I believe from all these documents you will find that your calculation of the extent of country included between the old and new boundaries, has not exceeded the mark ; but the resources of that country are by no means proportionate to its extent ; the whole of it, from

the Winterveld (including this Division) eastward, is the poorest of grazing country, with weak springs, where the Boor builds his house, makes his kraals, and by making ponds, and intercepting occasionally rain water in dams, is able through part of the year, to support his flocks. Some springs are strong enough to enable the tenant to water some vegetables; but very few indeed admit of the irrigation of as much land as will supply a family with bread, so that the inhabitants of the Winterveld, Uitvlug, and New Hantam, were right in the description you state to have received of them.

“It is that poverty of the land, and of the people occupying it, and the vast extent of this miserable country, which a grazier must take in to get at some solitary pool, or grass ridge, which caused the contentions between the surveyor and myself, and my representations to Government, so as to cause a reduction in the expenses of survey. I am not going to merge into matter which forms an ocean for comment of itself; but merely quote this to convey my idea, that great part of the land alluded to is hardly worth the measuring. Yet this said land is rich in comparison with that westward, from the Winterveld stretching behind the Newveld Chain to the Sack River, and the Bree berg. The extent is immense, and over it are thinly scattered weak springs as above described, where permanent dwellings have been long established. In the remainder are only to be found the beds of what are torrents in heavy rains, and stagnant pools, in search of which the farmers wander with their flocks, according as they think, or hear that the rains have fallen. From this description of the land intruded on, you may conclude it to be my humble opinion (which I presume to give, in reply to your query whether the resources which that land is likely to yield, are such as

to justify the above extension of the Colony) that these resources are not of sufficient consequence to justify the above extension, if that extension were yet to take place, and that it would have been better for the Colonists, as as well as the Bosjesmen, if the farmer had never got into that country : but that these resources, now once possessed are too important to be abandoned, and that evacuating the country, if it were possible, which I am bound in candour to deny, would be ruining vast numbers of families without benefiting the Bosjesmen in the least ; for these, it is lamentable to say, were with very few exceptions scattered far and wide over the interior, long before the old boundary was passed, and this was effected long before the fixing of the boundary, which was not meant to justify those migrations, but to prevent their further extension, as the enclosures show. He, who dates the excesses committed against the Bosjesmen, their reciprocal atrocities, and the encroachments on their territories from the crossing of the old boundary, is either totally ignorant of the history of the Colony, or desirous of stigmatising the generation, or has some other deceitful object in view. The encroachments on the Aborigines began at Cape Town, and never ceased to extend by degrees until the colonists had got to where they are now ; as the leading adventurers advanced, their countrymen followed, and as a tract of country became what they called *full*, the more enterprising again set forward and were followed as before. If the Government had had sufficient knowledge of the interior, and sufficient authority in it, when the first settlers came to the chain of the Sneeuw and Newveld bergen, and there had fixed the boundary, and there checked migrations inland, the Bosjesmen might have remained in peaceable possession of the country beyond ; but when the farmers of those

days, with their immense flocks, were once permitted to gain possession of the high lands just mentioned, no one with the least idea of the life of a grazier in a country like this would have maintained the possibility of keeping them out of the farmer tracts beyond, and of maintaining a boundary of imaginary lines drawn zig-zag over an open country of almost boundless extent.

“The first Sneeuwbergers, or Newvelders, would subsist on these lands throughout the year as long as the country was new, grass and space plentiful, and the winters mild; but no sooner would settlers accumulate and unlimited pasturage be restrained, than the approach of winter would force down the farmer into the warmer country to preserve his flocks, and as to the south every good place would be beset by his fellow-adventurers, or followers, no alternative would be left but to encroach on the opposite direction. By the time the old Government began to abandon the system of extermination, the country along our northern borders had become useless to the savage. The occupation of the waters drove the game deep into the deserts, and peace having been made with some kraals of Bushmen, who acted as spies on the east, the mass of that people had followed the game; consequently, when Colonel Collins in 1809 travelled through the Bushman Country bordering on the Colony, he was surprised to find hardly any of those savages, though east of the Sea Cow River. No Boer had then been established beyond the old boundary. (That officer’s report, I believe, is in the Colonial Office, though I have not seen it, but I travelled with him.)

“When Captain Bonamy and myself fixed the new line, and travelled through the whole extent of country from the Winterberg to the Sea Cow River, we found



no Bushmen whatever living separated from the Boors, except one kraal in some rocks, far from any spring or water, consisting of about a dozen men, women and children, all the rest whom we saw lived with the inhabitants, who fed them and hunted for them to keep them on good terms, in return for which they assisted in herding cattle in as far as they pleased, being bound by no engagements, fully at liberty to stay as long as they liked, and to go away when they thought proper, and considered as much under the protection of our laws as the Boer himself. I know of no particular kraal that has been disturbed.

“These people do not settle themselves near springs, make permanent residences, or cultivate land ; they live in remote corners and rocks, and remove as often as they expect to find a part of the country more full of game. The springs are of no further use to them than to fetch their water at, and near them to lie in wait for a favourable shot at the game that come to drink, consequently when the Colonists settled among them they found it better to leave their haunts, and go and live and hunt with the intruders. As to their children, whom the Boers informed you they had taken into their service, and which the parents will of course be glad to consent to in time of scarcity, I believe I had the honour of placing in your possession the regulations which secure to the savage the repossession of the child thus given up whenever it is claimed.

“Now, coming to another clause of your letter, I have to acquaint you, that hitherto not one grant of the lands alluded to has been confirmed by legal title, but when we speak of occupation, there is not even a stagnant pool that keeps rain-water for any length of time, which is not regularly occupied, so that of course no spring

remains vacant, and for many of them there are three or four applicants, the whole population consisting (with solitary exceptions) of persons who have not another place in the world. When I say no spring remains vacant, I except the Torenberg, Van der Walts Fontein, and Palmiet Fontein, where a missionary establishment for Bushmen once existed, and failed through the conduct of its head, and which I have ever since refused to inspect in behalf of any of the numerous applicants, supposing that the Society might wish to resume the establishment, this not being done, the inhabitants petitioned to be allowed to build a church there, with a parsonage, and to have a minister and further assistants appointed, to which the Government consented.

“Next, to come to the remaining and most important point of your letter, desiring my information as to the means still to be found of settling the Bushmen advantageously in communities, I shall lay before you my ideas frankly, as your superior knowledge will enable you to judge where my prejudices as a Colonist lead me astray, and where the want of having seen anything more than this Colony may cramp my views. Under the influence of these defects I may err, but interested motives I can have none. I can appeal to the Government, my fellow-servants, the Boers, the savages themselves, as to how I have felt and acted with respect to the latter, and defy the minutest scrutiny ; but I am far from running blindfold into the opposite extreme, and thinking that collecting them into schools and preaching to them while they are half-starved, through interpreters who do not understand us themselves, will do them the least good. I am a strong advocate for missionary institutions among the Bush-

men ; I strongly recommend Dr. Phillip and the Rev. Mr. Whitworth to settle missionaries close on our borders ;\* but then I consider these worthy men in the outset more as protectors than as teachers, at least to the present grown-up generation of Bushmen. By the high respect in which they are held among the Griquas, Bergenaars, Coxdannas (far worse enemies to the Bushmen then ever the Boers were), they will restrain these from injuring such as belong to their institutions, and by the communication, which they may keep up with the Government and the magistrates, they will effectually check all attacks on the part of the Colonists. One establishment has already been set on foot for some years ; it is about fifteen miles beyond the Great River, it is called Philipppdis.

“ The whole of the country thence eastward, as far as we know, and westward to the kraals of the Griquas, is uninhabited. There are many good springs, where villages may be established, and missionaries may reside, but the country is principally fit for pasture, as on this side the river, and that is just what I think the Bushmen want ; they are in the lowest savage state, and we shall have gained a great point if we raise them one step by making them graziers, and rendering their subsistence less precarious. When we have succeeded in this, it will be time to lead them to higher improvements. I should therefore recommend that the Colonists be rigidly prevented from getting into that tract of country, for they have an eye to it, and have sent in memorials, to which, however, at my suggestion, they got a decided refusal. I do not know any other part, in or out of the Colony, where a trial of the above nature could be made on a large scale. There they would be near enough to us to procure our protection when necessary, and

sufficiently separated to avoid constant contact and mutual jealousies ; but wherever they be assembled, if it be not under the influence of a missionary, or some such guide, they will be plundered by other savages and in their turn plunder us.

“There can be no possible objection to the Bushmen living with the Colonists as long as it remains clearly understood that they are at full liberty to depart when they think proper, and that they are to be protected in their persons, and whatever property they may acquire, the same as every other free person. I do not maintain that their situation with the Boers is enviable of itself ; but most certainly it is so in comparison to the state they are in among the Griquas, and in their haunts in the vicinity of that tribe, and the Bootchooanas. If we have not seen their misery, no further proof would be necessary than those poor creatures in times of drought and scarcity coming in numbers across the great river, and forcing themselves and their children on the farmers. Should they therefore be prohibited, or restrained from staying amongst us before they can be better provided for, they must resort to plunder ; for even those, who may have earned some cattle among the farmers, will soon lose them by improvidence, or the capacity of their countrymen, or other savages.

“The same is the case with their children. No one can be so partial and blinded as to maintain that these children are always well treated and decently brought up ; but it is certainly preferable that the Boers should receive them, who are at least restrained by law, if not by humanity, from doing them any material injury, than that the mothers should strangle them, or the fathers knock out their brains, or leave them exposed to the wild beasts for want of food, and these are no rare

occurrences. Also must that man be jaundiced by prejudices, who can allow no credit in any case for the receiving of infants, who may require at least feeding for many years before they can render the least service, whom the parents may reclaim as soon as those serviceable years arrive, and whom the Landdrost may remove on the suspicion even of ill-treatment.

“Were I to argue that the condition of the Bushmen is not truly lamentable, and that the Colony is not principally to blame, I should contradict all my own representations, and complaints, of which you are in possession ; but I do unequivocally deny the charge that a desire generally exists to oppress them farther, the Boers would be glad to make great sacrifices to induce them to keep the peace. Often voluntary contributions have been made in cattle to set particular peaceable kraals agoing as breeders. In 1818 I retook from the Kaffirs upwards of 2000 sheep and goats, which had from time to time been given to Bushmen by the Boers, and taken by the Kaffirs from their kraals, which they had destroyed with the most barbarous cruelty ; that flock was again distributed among other kraals, and subsequent collections were made, but of all this little is left.

“Last year the Coxannas took the whole flock belonging to one kraal, the chief of these applied to the Field-Cornet for a Commando against the Coxannas, which of course could not be granted, though the Field-Cornet applied for my sanction. I only quote these circumstances to show that no bigoted opposition is to be dreaded on the part of the Colonists to any rational plan for the amelioration of the savages ; and that on the contrary they may be expected to support institutions such as I have above proposed, and repeatedly to the Government ; but if these institutions would be turned

into receptacles of servants legally bound, who choose to desert their masters, as was the case at Torenberg ; if the Bushmen are to be collected in numbers, to live in idleness under pretence of being taught religion, and subsisted on the flocks of those who might be seduced away from good farmers where they had earned those flocks, such institutions must become the focus of rapine and murder, and opposition of duty to society.

“On the other hand, if these asylums be set on foot, the Bushmen left at full liberty to avail themselves of them, but not forced or enticed away from where they find themselves comfortable, they may be a support to the Colony and the Colony to them.

“Another delicate point connected with all the above remains to be touched upon, viz., the pursuit of robbers, and some specific regulations on that head, are absolutely necessary. If we say that the Boers are not to follow up murderers and plunderers beyond the Frontier, we lay the firmest foundation for the very thing we are so anxious to prevent, viz., a new frontier petty war ; for the order had only to become generally known (which it must, or else it cannot be acted on), and one night will be sufficient for the destruction of half the families on the extreme borders, by those who know that the crossing of a river or a ridge ensures a safe retreat. Before reference can be made to Cape Town, the gang may be beyond the Tropic, and could we then take indiscriminate vengeance on all kraals ? It is not there as with the Kaffirs, where there are chiefs with authority, to be found at all times, and where the community can be held responsible for the acts of its members ; the savages here are divided into hundreds of small independent parties whom, unless you follow them on the spur, you can never find out again ; the impunity of one set of depredators will

stimulate others, and the flame once kindled, the scenes of blood of earlier days will be acted over again. The best check on these pursuers of marauders which I have been able to adopt was to make every individual employed on such a party, particularly blacks, as soon as they return at the Drostdy and give a deposition of all the proceedings, by which it is easily discovered whether the pursuit was wanton, or necessary, or whether any extremities which could be avoided were resorted to. No Boer will inconsiderately run the risk of such enquiry, if his cause be not just; but to check one evil by the substitution of a still greater one, I humbly beg leave to dissent from.

"I have above tried to comply with your requisitions, and to do my duty to the public; and apologising for occupying too much of your time,

"I have, &c.,

"A. STOCKENSTROM.

"J. J. Bigge, Esq.

"W. G. Colebrooke, Esq.

"W. Blair, Esq.

"His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry, &c."

The anti-Stockenstrom prejudices, which, as Sir Andries remarks, have been thoroughly instilled into the Commissioners of Enquiry before they reached Graaff Reinet, and which he had hoped their searching investigation into his administration had sufficed to remove, were, however, not allowed to die a natural death. Not long after the Commissioners returned to Cape Town, the Rev. Dr. Philip, no doubt thoroughly believing that he was only doing his duty to the cause of the Aborigines and of Missions, presented to the Commissioners a memorandum, charging the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet with a desire to enslave the Hottentots, &c., saying that, "Though Mr. Stockenstrom was a good fellow, and the best among them, yet, notwithstanding his great mind, being a Dutchman, he was



naturally prejudiced in favour of the old system." The Rev. A. Murray of Graaff Reinet happened to be in Cape Town at the time, and was called before the Commissioners, and subsequently before the Governor and the Colonial Secretary, and vigorously examined on the conduct of the Landdrost, whom he instantly acquainted with the attack that was being made on him. To the Rev. Mr. Murray's letter, which conveyed to him a copy of a written memorandum, which, at the desire of the Governor, he had prepared and handed to the authorities, the Landdrost replied as follows :—

"You were perfectly justified in telling Doctor Philip, or the Commissioners, or the Governor, that I had tried to find out which Hottentots, or any others, were living upon their industry or property, and which upon plunder and robbery, and you might safely have added that I am as hostile to the emancipation of the Hottentots and all other classes *from all legal and moral restraints*, as I am anxious for their emancipation *from bondage and oppression*, and that I cannot be a greater advocate for Christian conversion, or bear greater respect for the truly religious missionary, than I despise the fanatic or the hypocrite, who, abandoning the glory of his Maker, makes religion answer his own purposes. In these sentiments I am certain I am supported by you, by the Commissioners, and the Government, and instead of their being the result of, or in conformity to any 'new system,' which Doctor Philip spoke to you of, but which I am a stranger to, I have acted upon them since I first became connected with the public, and it will require a system rather powerfully supported to eradicate them. I am sorry Doctor Philip should have thought proper to commence this attack, for I really thought we might have done the Hottentots much good by going all of us hand in hand, and he must recollect that it is not very

long since he thought me a very tolerable sort of an animal."

A better acquaintance with the Landdrost must have convinced Dr. Philip that he had been entirely misinformed, and had completely mistaken the character of the man; and we shall find them hereafter heartily co-operating in the good cause of rescuing the heathen from their state of barbarism.

The allusion made by Sir Andries to Colonel (then Lieutenant) Bonamy as a life-long and dear friend, recalls to the mind of the writer an anecdote in which this gentleman was concerned, related to him by Sir Andries, and as nearly as possible in the following terms:—

"I was riding one day with Bonamy through the Sneeuwberg on one of my frequent excursions, when the conversation chanced to turn upon the troubles of life, and I ventured to remark that I believed they were so universal that no one living was free from them. To which my friend excepted, saying, 'Oh, I don't think so. I think there are many in the world who know naught of trouble—the savages for instance, who know nothing of our social system, and of the difficulties surrounding our civilisation, they live a happy, careless, thoughtless life, and know nothing of troubles.' To this I demurred, and presently as we were passing a flock of sheep, Bonamy espied the herd, an old Bushman, reclining at ease in the shade of a thorn tree, and remarked, 'There now, that fellow, he has no cares or troubles.' 'Ask him,' said I; and we rode up to him, and wishing him good morning, asked in a careless sort of way, 'How goes it, my good fellow?' to which he replied, 'Oh, well, my master is kind to me; my mistress gives me plenty to eat, and I have a jolly life of it.' 'You have nothing to complain about?' 'No, nothing.' 'Then there is nothing that troubles you?' 'Well, yes,

there is something. You see that black-faced ewe'—pointing to one in the flock—'well, of an afternoon, when the sun is very hot, and I have got the sheep to lie down so that I can get a snooze under a tree, that black-faced ewe gets up, starts off, and leads astray the whole flock, and then I have to trudge for miles to fetch them back; I wish I were quit of that *black-faced ewe*.' 'Bonamy and I rode on, and he agreed with me that every mortal has his 'black-faced ewe.' ”

## CHAPTER XII.

1826.

Death of Secretary Muller—Sir R. Plasket—High-handed proceedings of Governor—Makomo reoccupies Kat River—Attempt to seize Gaika—Col. Somerset attacks Gaika—Working of reprisal system—Landdrost expresses his views on Frontier Policy—Colonel Somerset Commandant of Kaffraria—Governor visits Frontier—Disapproves of grant of Maasstrom—Establishes Somerset Town and District—Avoids Graaff Reinet—Returns to Cape Town—Plasket visits Graaff Reinet—Discussion with Plasket on Governor's ill-treatment—Visit of Rev. W. Wright, Dr. Philip, and Thos. Pringle—Discussions with these men—Stockenstrom explains his principles of dealing with Natives—Summoned to Cape Town—Alteration of form of Government—Heemraden abolished—Ball at Plaskets—Plasket dissatisfied—Shameful expedition into Kaffraria—Reprisal System—Letters of Pringle and Huntley—General Bourke visits Graaff Reinet—First public meeting for abolition of Slavery—Correspondence with Government—Philanthropic Society.

ABOUT this time died Mr. Theodorus Muller, whom my father had brought with him from Swellendam, where he was in a humble station, and had him appointed Secretary of Graaff Reinet, in which capacity he acted most respectably. He served under me for near ten years, during which period there was one serious quarrel between us, in which both parties were equally wrong and foolish ; but I have the satisfaction of knowing that to his last moments he considered me a friend. He was succeeded by Mr. Egbertus Bergh, a most proper efficient appointment. Yet Mr. Bergh for a long time laboured under the delusion that I suspected that Lord Charles Somerset had placed him near me as a spy ; but he was by degrees cured of this idea, and I found him a gentle-

man, warmhearted and strictly honourable : he died thoroughly convinced that I was one of his best friends.

In the meantime great changes took place ; Sir Richard Plasket succeeded Colonel Bird in the office of Colonial Secretary. My district suffered a great loss by the retirement of my friend Captain Harding, who was succeeded by Mr. Mackay. The press was silenced—the literary society was suppressed, and the Governor proceeded to the Frontier. As already said, Fraser was dead, all the other senior officers had been removed, and Colonel Somerset commanded the Frontier. The Governor was determined to upset everything that Sir Rufane Donkin had done, allowed the Chief Makomo to reoccupy the lands in the Kat River, which the acting Governor had caused to be surveyed for a Highland party of settlers, and which he (the Governor) himself, in conjunction with the Kaffir chiefs, had declared “ *Neutral Territory* ” in 1819 ; yet, notwithstanding this apparent good understanding, constant expeditions were sent against the Kaffirs. In 1822 an attempt was made by a party of military to seize Gaika by night in the midst of profound peace, without the remotest provocation. This disgraceful piece of treachery failed by the chief escaping in the dark, covered with a woman’s kaross.

About the end of 1823 Colonel Somerset himself, with a Commando of military and civilians, attacked our friend in the territory, which he was then occupying with the Governor’s consent, came upon him by surprise, so that little if any resistance could be made, killed a number of men, women, and children, and carried off seven thousand head of cattle, which were distributed according to the reprisal system, except some few which were too weak to follow the troop, and were left to keep the women and children from starving. I quote this instance par-

ticularly because it was officially given as a brilliant military exploit, the atrocious massacre being admitted and made a boast of; but I have above quoted another in the case of Erasmus's span of horses. Others expository of the *system* will have to be adduced. This exhibition of vigour made the new commandant amazingly popular of course, but unfortunately, though unavoidably dragged me into his path. I had no officious desire to interfere, but my jurisdiction then still extended to the Baviaans River, the inhabitants whereof were constantly involved in these reprisals, which I foresaw would lead to desperate consequences. I knew that, although Captain Grant and his Highlanders had not arrived to occupy the lands measured out for them, the Government would take possession of those lands sooner or later, so that we were preparing for ourselves new complications; for some Boers had already been encouraged to squat up to the sources of the Koonap.

As in duty bound, I openly and warmly expressed my sentiments on our Frontier policy, so that it became no difficult matter to contrast my views with those then in force, and to represent me to the ignorant and vicious, who were interested in the latter, as sold to the Missionaries at the very time when the conscientious but misinformed Doctor Philip was denouncing me to the Commissioners of Enquiry as the bitterest enemy of the aborigines. It soon got whispered about that petitions were to be got up to have Colonel Somerset as perpetual Commandant or Lieutenant-Governor, as he would not only keep down the blacks, but obtain for the Burgers farms in the *ceded* territory; though the Governor had himself maintained that when that territory was declared *neutral*, Gaika's objection was particularly levelled against having the *Boers* for neighbours. To

Colonel Somerset's elevation I could have no objection : to compete with him with my interest would have been simply absurd. I had always been surprised to find myself so high up as Landdrost, and to aspire to anything beyond that I never dreamt of. I knew that if I did like to act under his authority I had the remedy in my own hands. I desired no more.

I may here incidentally mention that the office of Commandant of Kaffraria, which was specially created for Colonel Somerset, and which ceased with him, was quite unintelligible, as the British Crown did not hold a foot of land in Kaffirland proper, and did not claim jurisdiction over one single Kaffir. The office was consequently a pure sinecure and a barefaced job.

At last I heard that the Governor had arrived on the Frontier, and next that he had reached my land on the Kaga. I had some time before consented, at the request of Colonel Somerset, to have a troop of Cavalry stationed on the spot, as he, the Colonel, considered it "*a fine position for a military post.*" As I could not occupy the place, I had given my friend Lieutenant Devenish, who lived in the neighbourhood, charge of it. He wrote me to say that His Excellency was furious that Sir Rufane Donkin had given away "*so eligible a post for the defence of the Frontier*"; that he (Mr. Devenish) had heard His Excellency declare that he would not pass the grant, and order the Commandant to have permanent substantial barracks built there forthwith. This made me furious in my turn. I considered such conduct particularly mean at the very moment when the Governor was giving away the whole country in the same quarter to his son's protégés, and I simply answered Devenish, "Don't you say one word, let them finish the permanent substantial barracks, and then I



shall eject them by legal process, when they will have an opportunity of showing whether I got the land honestly or by sycophancy."

The Governor's next step was to Boschberg, where he cut the Graaff Reinet district into two, and converted part of it into a portion of the new district, which he then created, which he called "Somerset," and to which he appointed my Deputy Mr. Mackay (who formed part of his suite) *Landdrost*, to the wonder of the Colony, who had no idea of his claims to so high an office. His Excellency thus cut me off completely, to my great delight, from the military Frontier, and from all occasion of commenting on the *reprisals*, as a matter of duty.

From Somerset the Governor returned to Cape Town, but Sir Richard Plasket and his private Secretary, Mr. Thomas Miller, proceeded to Graaff Reinet. These gentlemen came to my door, something like the Commissioners of Enquiry. We had never seen each other. They had of course heard a great deal about me, but from the atmosphere in which they lived during the short stay they had then made in the Colony, they could not have inhaled much good. Our first meeting was very polite, but stiff. It was soon evident, however, that my guests were perfect gentlemen. At breakfast Sir Richard said, as if he did not think it of any importance, "The Governor expected to see you at Somerset." "I am sorry to have disappointed His Excellency, but I knew nothing of his movements." "Did he not write to you?" "No, sir, for I should rather travel a thousand miles than show the least discourtesy to the King's Representatives. Besides, I can expect no mercy, if I lay myself open." "Do not you know that your district has been subdivided?" "I do know it—for everybody knows it. The very dogs bark it in the streets; but I

have no other authority for it. They got hold underhand of my Deputy who knows nothing of the district, for he has been but lately appointed; he lends himself to this transaction without the slightest reference to me, and now I am told I am denounced as having treated the Governor with contempt."

Sir Richard showed surprise but no annoyance. He asked me to show him certain papers, and I directed Mr. Hudson to place the whole office at his disposal. The next evening a large party being asked to meet him at dinner, Captain Andrews indiscreetly got hold of him, and, in detailing his own grievances, gave, as their cause, his friendship for me, which he said was a crime with the Somersets. As soon as the party had broken up, Sir Richard communicated to me Andrews' speech, and said, "I did not know what there was between you and Lord Charles except this grant, which he thinks Donkin ought not to have given away, but kept for a military station. But that is Donkin's business and not yours. But now I find from Captain Andrews that there have been quarrels between you and Colonel Somerset." I answered, "Donkin could know nothing of the locality. Acting Landdrost Meintjes, Deputy Landdrost Harding, and the Surveyor Leeb are responsible for that. Lord C. Somerset was the first to acknowledge my claims to a grant: how is it that he or his son never thought or dreamt of that locality for a military post before it became my property? and are there not hundreds such localities to be given away to the Boers by Lord Charles himself? Let him ask the Commissioners of Enquiry and they will tell him, whether there is one atom in that grant inconsistent with law, rule, honesty, equity, or justice." Sir R. Plasket then resumed: "I told the Governor that I was determined to come here, as I was

anxious to form the personal acquaintance of the chief functionaries with whom I should have so much business to transact, and who could give me so much necessary information. I wish to belong to no party, but seek the truth."

I then gave him a full account from first to last of all my dealings and relations with the Governor and his son, with full authority to repeat every word if he should see fit, and, being highly irritated, I added, "I dare say it will be called a want of self-respect on my part when I admit with reference to the Governor that his sudden change of conduct towards me, after so much mutual confidence, and so much kindness on his part, has been to me a source of heartfelt regret ; but as for his parasites on the Frontier, I would not walk the length of this room to conciliate them all. They are now exciting themselves to prejudice the Boers by representing me as the champion of the blacks against the whites, with the view of renewing and increasing petitions in favour of their leader, as if I could be idiot enough to compete for the Lieut.-Governorship with the grandson of the Duke of Beaufort, and the son of Lord C. Somerset. I despise these intrigues, I shall do justice to black and white to the best of my abilities, without swerving one inch from the path I have hitherto trodden. I only hope that the Governor's flatterers in this Colony may not lead him into pitfalls. Some of them, fancying that they see by the signs of the times that his glory has passed its zenith, begin to whisper about *transactions that ought to be exposed*. Let any one, including Acting Governor, ex-Secretary, and Commissioners of Enquiry, produce one single word or act of mine intended or tending to injure or annoy the Governor or any one connected with him. *They cannot !* but I shall remain on the defensive, and not

be overridden." My interlocutor broke up the discussion, and gave no opinion, but I may safely say, as my private correspondence will show, that both Sir Richard Plasket and Mr. Miller were among my best friends till their death. They returned to Cape Town, and I was soon after honoured with a different sort of visit.

First came the Rev. William Wright, and one or two days later arrived the Rev. Dr. Philip, and Mr. Thomas Pringle.

It is well known that these gentlemen were at the time not only in opposition to, but in direct collision with the local Government, and it was by some people deemed at least strange that such "radicals" should be the guests of the chief magistrate of the district. However, I was master in my own house; there was no hotel in the place in those days, and I found these gentlemen very agreeable society. There were some warm debates on all the topics then exciting the public mind. The liberty of the press was of course paramount. On this point, as on many other matters calling for revision, improvement, or reform, we were pretty well agreed. The aborigines came, you may be sure, next to, if not before, the press. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Wright, having for some time been travelling on the Frontier and through Kaffirland, was literally frantic about the injustice and oppression which he had heard of and witnessed, and he was enthusiastically backed by his fellow-visitors.

To have denied the extermination of the Hottentots and Bushmen, the possession of their country by ourselves, the cruelties with which their expulsion and just resistance had been accompanied, the hardships with which the laws were still pressing upon their remnants, the continuation of the same system against the Kaffirs, or the iniquity of the aggressions and murders then

lately perpetrated upon the latter race, would have been ridiculous, as well as dishonest, as there was not in the Colony, even among the Boers, one single being of the slightest decency or respectability, who did not see the facts before his eyes and lament them. I should by such denial have given the lie to much that I had myself complained of, and for years been trying to mitigate or resist, and demeaned myself to the level of those miscreants, who, as soon as they wish to cheat the ignorant farmer out of some bargain, begin by sympathizing with his grievances, expatiating on the tyranny of the Government, on the humanity of the white man, on the irreclaimability of the blacks, doomed by providence to the fate of the Canaanites, and on the anti-Colonial, anti-patriotic treason of any man, who dares to maintain that the black man has ever had cause to complain, and *end* by walking away with a sheep for a bottle of brandy. There was consequently little to be disputed between my guests and myself as to the past ; but they certainly tried my temper by the virulence with which they persisted in denouncing the present generation of the Colonists, and refused to make any allowance for their actual position, which rendered self-defence often absolutely necessary for the preservation of both parties, invariably cutting the Gordian knot by the maxim, which no people on earth have ever violated one hundredth part as much as the English themselves, viz., "*You have no business here at all.*"

In talking of *systems*, I happened to say, "My system is to do my best to get the white man hanged who murders a black ; but I also do my best to root out any gang of robbers and murderers among the blacks, who cannot be otherwise reclaimed." This was met by an exclamation, "An awful necessity into which you have

forced yourselves!" Granted; or rather, our ancestors, and the Government have forced us into it, and being in the scrape, we must either run away, sit still and have our throats cut, or defend what we have. Neither of the two former alternatives will benefit the blacks—either must ultimately ruin both them and ourselves; whereas, the third persisted in with firmness, strict justice and moderation, may in a country like this enable both parties to live in peace and plenty. My opponents were disposed to find some reason in this argument, but remained sceptical as to the existence of the soil on which the justice and moderation were to be cultivated.

On the subject of the ejection of the missionary from Toorn Berg, of course Dr. Philip was particularly excited. I assured him that the institution was a disgrace to the Missionary Society, as well as to the Government, and reminded him that he himself had been compelled to dismiss the party ejected. "Well," said the doctor, "but did not the Government take him into their employ?"

"It was," I said, "to give him a chance of recovering himself under the immediate eye of the Magistrate of Beaufort, where there is ample work for a missionary among Hottentots and Bushmen. However, to prove to you that we are not opposed to your objects, there are Toorn Berg and the adjacent farm kept for you in spite of dozens of applications from others, so that you may send a proper person there as soon as you please." I need not repeat what is already stated above about the fate of Toorn Berg. The missionary cause was, of course, often on the carpet. The doctor's zeal and enthusiasm in that cause are well known. I could only assure him he did me great injustice in believing me hostile to the missionaries. I said, "I consider them men like

other classes, neither better nor worse. I know some of them to be very foolish and ignorant, apt to deceive you and the public by exaggerated reports of their efforts and their success, as well as of the virtues and long-suffering of the blacks, and the vices and cruelty of the whites; but I have found some most excellent men among them, for whom I entertain the most sincere respect. In fact, I feel that every attempt to civilise the barbarians and savages without the help of prudent, wise, Christian missionaries, will certainly fail; but they, on the other hand, will not succeed without the cordial co-operation of and with the Government; and these two forces, combined, however powerful, will not civilise unless they make the native chiefs the principal levers in the operations on their people. If we gain the confidence of the chiefs, they, with the power of the Government, and the efforts of the missionaries, will influence the masses, and improve the state of society; but if you undermine the power of the chiefs you may scheme and plan systems, but the end must be the extermination and bondage of the natives. You will possess the land, and the present proprietors will be your drawers of water and hewers of wood; but the Christianisation and civilisation of the aborigines will be nothing more nor less than a tremendous sham for secret, ambitious, hypocritical, or rapacious purposes.

“As for the unfortunate Bushmen, they are without chiefs, laws, Government, or organisation of any kind, so that no human power can save them from absorption, either by ourselves, or by some powerful neighbouring nation; this may be done without the least harshness or cruelty. You must deal with them upon the principles of strict international law, as you *must* deal with France or Holland, or you must make them what the Hottentots



are now, and if *this* be England's object, let her candidly say so. I would not undertake the job, but there is not one of my field-cornets who might not undertake to complete it within twenty years without its costing you one farthing except for gunpowder, which we cannot manufacture ourselves. We shall not ask your Commissariat, you may shut up your military chest. Simply say—*Take the land as you have taken it from Cape Point to the Koonap and divide it amongst you, and the laws now applicable to the Hottentots will be made applicable to the Kaffirs.* Do this, and I warrant you that within the period specified there shall not be one Kaffir west of the Bashee, who shall not be in service as a labourer, or a herdsman, or a bandit in chains, or a robber in the bush.

“You exclaim *God forbid*, but you are doing the same thing by means more slow, but equally sure and less honest. Your system brings martial glory to the favoured few, ill-gotten treasure to a few more, at a terrific expense to the taxpayers in the mother-country, and must lead to the most awful bloodshed and demoralisation. You pretend that it is absurd to expect that Barbarians will act upon, or even understand, the principles of international law, and therefore you consider yourself entitled to violate every principle of all law and justice, and this system is so popular with those who profit by it, of course that to question its policy or honesty is sure to incur the charge of enemy to the interests of the Colony. I am no out and out advocate of the native tribes. I never allow them to plunder and murder with impunity. They know it. They are neither angels nor devils. When I have to choose between destroying them, or being destroyed by them, I am never long in deciding, but I insist upon it, and repeat that a powerful

Government like that of England, by equitable treaties honestly and wisely drawn up, and faithfully kept in a spirit of candour and liberality, will soon have the chiefs so completely under its influence that its word will be law without appearing or pretending to be so; and the missionaries going hand in hand with the Government and the chiefs will have a glorious work which God will prosper, as it will be founded on the Gospel doctrine of doing unto others as you would be done by; but if you pretend that Barbarians are too stupid legally to discriminate between murder and the other species of manslaughter, between violent robbing and petty larceny, and that therefore you as enlightened, civilised, Christian jurists have the right to murder and plunder according to codes of your own—you may make the country swarm with missionaries and martial heroes;—you will have flaming reports of exploits in the wholesale conversions and military slaughter, but the end will be that you will have the land, and the natives, who are not exterminated, will be your slaves.”

The doctor without directly disputing my position was understood to say that the Gospel was strong enough to do it all in defiance of Government and chiefs. At any rate, all three the travellers left me. Dr. Philip for the Orange River, Mr. Pringle for the Frontier, and Dr. Wright for Cape Town, tolerably satisfied that I was not so hostile to blacks and missionaries as I had been represented, and I shall with pleasure have to mention them again.

Soon after this visit I received a summons to come to Cape Town, which I obeyed of course. I was kindly received by the Commissioners of Enquiry and the Colonial Secretary, but on the third day the latter found serious fault with me for not yet having called upon the

Governor. I answered that I was waiting for the first day of official audience, as I did not see how I could intrude except as Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. The Secretary thought me wrong. I said, "Then I shall go at once, for in spite of all that has happened. I wish to show not only my profound respect for the Governor, but for the man who as long as he was left to follow his own impulse was as kind to me as a brother." The Governor received me with cold civility. I stood on the very spot where he had foamed at me five years previous. He asked me to sit down, and entered into various indifferent matters; for instance, congratulating me on my having procured Pompey, "which he thought one of the best horses he had imported." I withdrew, well satisfied with my reception, circumstances considered. I returned to the Colonial Office, where the Secretary said that he had been directed to inform me that the system of the Government of the Colony was to be changed. That the Burger Senate was to be abolished, and most likely also the boards of Heemraden. That Cape Town would be managed by a high functionary under the direct orders of the executive. That the Commissioners of Enquiry were of opinion that I was a proper officer for that situation. That the Governor was quite disposed to make me the offer, but that he doubted whether I would accept. I at once replied His Excellency is quite right. I should not consider myself fit for such an office. I am not going to enter into the policy of abolishing the boards. I have given you and the Commissioners my views on the subject repeatedly. You are doing away with the only shadow of representation in the Colony. At Graaff Reinet at least my success has been altogether dependent on the support of the Heemraden, and if they be broken up as a body I shall be paralysed. Cape Town will be

worse. The Secretary said, "I shall tell the Governor what you say. However, I trust you will not act with precipitation."

A couple of days later I received an invitation to dine at Government House, which with the most unfeigned regret I felt bound to decline respectfully. A few evenings later at a grand masquerade given by Sir R. Plasket, after most of the company had unmasked, His Excellency had the goodness to introduce me to his Lady, whom I then saw for the first time, and who struck me, as she did the whole community, to be a personage likely to prove a great blessing at the head of Cape Society. Being ready to return home I called to take leave of the Colonial Secretary, whom I found very much out of humour with me. After rather a warm discussion, he said: "I think you have spoiled a very good cause. I considered it my duty to tell the Governor that I thought he had mistaken and wronged you. He was quite disposed to meet you half way. He went as far as in his position you can expect. You have certainly not responded, and you have thrown several of your warmest advocates over to his side." I replied, "I hardly know any submission that I could not be brought to make to Lord Charles Somerset individually, but any cordiality between us can only be very temporary, and will certainly add fuel to flame, for his creatures on the Frontier are at this very moment trying to move heaven and earth to misrepresent the motives of my opinions and proceedings with reference to the coloured classes, and the border tribes, which have been uniform ever since I began public life. He listens to these animals, who dream that I am in their way. To please them he threw me on half-pay, after having himself insisted that it was for the good of the service that I should be on full

pay. He attacked my private property, because they thought me vulnerable in that head; wherever I turn I find some snare spread; I defy them, but as I told you before, I shall remain strictly on the defensive. Some of the Governor's toadies begin to fancy that they see a contrary wind springing up in the distance. Let him watch and see how they will tack, when the gale breaks loose, and let him likewise watch and see whether there will be a feather added to his load on my part. I wish him well." The worthy Secretary was not satisfied, and by our private correspondence it will be seen that he harped upon the subject after my departure, but it created no ill-feeling between us. In fact, his Lordship saw cause soon after this to leave the Colony once more, but not before another military expedition had entered Kaffirland, and by mistake attacked the wrong kraals, where indiscriminate slaughter and plunder were perpetrated upon unprepared, consequently defenceless, barbarians.

The affair alluded to in these lines was reported to the Commissioners of Enquiry, and is detailed in the following letter addressed to them by Mr. Thomas Pringle, dated Graham's Town, 12th January, 1826 :—

" GENTLEMEN,—I have in my last two communications refrained from offering any remarks upon the recent Commando of Colonel Somerset against the Kaffirs, but having now ascertained, as I imagine, the actual facts, and the opinions of all parties on the subject, having heard the Commandant himself describe his expedition, having conversed with several officers who accompanied the Commando, and compared the information thus obtained with that derived from some of the Chumie Missionaries, whom I have met with

here, I beg leave to submit the following sketch of the affair to your notice. It appears that Colonel Somerset had received intelligence that some cattle and horses, formerly stolen from the Colony, were in the possession of a Chief named 'Neuka' (a relation of Gaika), and a Kaffir female of rank, with whom he is associated; and although the Kaffirs have been altogether very quiet for several months past Colonel Somerset determined severely to chastise this Chief. A secret expedition was therefore planned, and the Commandant, accompanied by about 200 men of the Cape Corps and a party of Burgers from Baviaans River and Brintjes Koogte, marched off suddenly on the 20th ult. to attack Neuka's kraal. So secret and sudden indeed was this expedition, that the Landdrost of Albany was not informed of it until after the Commandant had marched from Graham's Town, and was consequently prevented from adopting any sufficient measures for the protection of the traders at Fort Willshire. Notwithstanding all this secrecy, however, and the assistance of the Kaffir spies and guides who accompanied them, the party sent forward to attack Neuka fell first by mistake upon a kraal belonging to the Chief Botman, who has been long on friendly terms with the Colony. Before their mistake was discovered some women and children had been shot, the cattle seized, and the Chief himself in imminent danger of being killed in the confusion, when he was fortunately recognised by some of the party, an explanation took place, the captured cattle were restored, and the Commando marched forward.

"The next kraal plundered by the Commando was one of some of Gaika's people, against whom there was no complaint; but this was also done by mistake, and upon some remonstrance on the part of the Chief, part at least

of the cattle carried off from this kraal were subsequently restored. While the Commando was thus blundering about, and attacking one peaceful party of Kaffirs after another, and wantonly firing upon the fugitives, the Chief Neuka, against whom alone the incursion professed to be directed, had taken the alarm and retreated into the woods with nearly all his people and property, so that it is said that he has suffered comparatively but little loss, though upwards of 500 head of cattle have been brought into the Colony.

“Of the captured cattle, about two-thirds are said to have been given over by Colonel Somerset to the Field-Commandant Durant for distribution among the Burgers of Baviaans River and Bruintjes Hoogte ; the rest have been brought into the Albany district.

“The number of Kaffirs killed in this expedition is not exactly known ; but as the Boers fired upon the fugitives in spite (as it is said) of orders to the contrary, from ten to twenty souls are supposed to have been wantonly sacrificed, chiefly women and children.

“Two Europeans, a soldier and a settler, who had straggled from the Commando on its return, were killed by the exasperated Kaffirs.

“Upon the whole, this expedition appears to have been undertaken without necessity, and executed without discretion. There have not been very recently any depredations on the Frontier ; and the information which Colonel Somerset had obtained (from his Kaffir spies, it is supposed) respecting a considerable number of stolen horses being in possession of the Chief Neuka, appears to have been altogether false, or much exaggerated. No horses were recaptured, nor any traces of them found, and only a very few Colonial oxen. Besides supposing Colonel Somerset’s information correct, was



it justifiable to exasperate the Kaffirs by hostilities, and expose the frontier Colonists to reprisals, without at least making some attempt to procure restitution by fair and peaceable means, which of late have seldom been found to fail with the frontier chiefs.

“If the justice and expediency of this incursion be very questionable, the mode of conducting it is not less so. Tribes at peace and amity with the Colony have been blunderingly attacked and wantonly fired upon, all by mere mistake it would seem. Innocent blood has been spilt, and unoffending people murdered; warlike chiefs have been grievously injured and provoked; the Kaffir traders and advanced settlers endangered; and the whole eastern frontier thrown into alarm and confusion.”

Nor was Mr. Thomas Pringle alone in taking up this disgraceful affair. Mr. H. Huntley also addressed to the Commissioners of Enquiry the following admirable letter, dated from Uitenhagen, January 17, 1826:—

“GENTLEMEN,—I take the liberty to address you on the subject of a late occurrence on the Frontier. During the last eleven years I have resided on or near the Frontier of this Colony, and during the greatest part of that time the districts of Albany and Graaff Reinet have been subjected to a depredatory system of warfare, alike ruinous to the inhabitants of this Colony and our uncivilised neighbours.

“The enlightened policy of permitting an intercourse and entering into trade with our former enemies had nearly put a stop to the system of plunder and bloodshed which had so long prevailed. Murder was unheard of, and plunder (save in a very few instances, and to a very small extent) had ceased. In the midst of this long-wished for peace (which had only occasionally

been interrupted by such petty depredations as must always be expected from a nation totally uncivilised), when mutual confidence began to be felt, when the trade of the Colony began to derive the greatest benefit from this new channel, and when the intercourse between a civilised and a savage nation promised the happiest results, a wanton, cruel, unprovoked, and treacherous attack was made on the kraals of the very chief whose alliance we had courted, and who considered himself under the particular protection of the Colonial Government. Blood, the blood of inoffensive women, was shed ; the chief was plundered of his cattle, and when he represented this to the aggressors, his cattle were partly restored, and he was told the attack had been made by mistake ! Is it possible, gentlemen, to expect that the Kaffir nation will tamely submit to such galling injustice ? to such violation of faith, and breach of treaties ? Will they not revenge themselves on the inhabitants of this Colony ? Will they not shed blood for blood, and will they not at least attempt to recover their stolen property ? Severely will the British settlers, who are just beginning to recover from their losses and their miseries, suffer for this wanton aggression on the part of the Colonial Government.

“The military employed on the occasion estimate the number at twenty, amongst which were some women ; but they were killed by mistake ! Not a head of cattle was taken from the kraal of Neuka, ‘he with his people and herds had escaped to the woods.’ The cattle were taken from, and the people were killed at the kraals of Gaika and Botman.

“The Boers, who, however ignorant they may be on other topics, are certainly good judges of the probable consequences of a transaction of this nature, universally

deprecate this impolitic attack. Not one of them to whom I have spoken on the subject, but seems aware of the fatal results that it will lead to. The reply of Mr. Muller, Field-Commandant of this district, when I informed him of the circumstance, may be taken as the opinion of every other experienced man in the Colony. 'I am getting old, and I was in hopes I should have spent my latter days in peace, but I see when the ploughing season comes on I shall be obliged to leave my farm to serve on another Commando. I am convinced there will be only one class of persons in the Colony who will not lament this ill-timed, and badly-conducted attack, and those will be the persons to whom the stolen cattle have been distributed.'

"The Cape *Gazette* states that this attack was made in consequence of recent depredations committed by the Kaffirs. There have been no depredations of any consequence committed lately, and certainly not to the amount of that now committed by us on the Kaffirs. If depredations had been committed (and small ones by straggling parties will never be discontinued until the Kaffirs become more civilised), should not a restitution in the first instance have been demanded; and ought a whole body of people to suffer for the excesses of a few bad and unruly subjects, who will always be found, even in the best conducted societies. If a demand of restitution had been made, and not complied with there would have been justice in taking that by force, which could not be recovered by treaty.

"If some steps are not immediately taken to counteract the effects of this ill-advised expedition, I prognosticate that ere the coming winter is passed the most serious consequences will follow, and it will require years to re-establish the confidence of the Kaffirs in the peace-

able professions of the Colonial Government. To obtain this end I see but one mode, and I fear that mode is the last that will be resorted to, viz., the disacknowledgment of the transaction by the Commander-in-Chief, and an immediate reparation to the Kaffirs who have been injured ; but if this step is not immediately taken, it may at a future period be looked upon by the Kaffirs as the effect of fear, rather than as an act of justice, and might in that case have a bad effect. If the Kaffirs are not satisfied, we may again conquer them, we may again drive them back, and make a new border ; but it will occasion a vast effusion of blood, will be ruinous to the border colonists, and entail an enormous expense on the Colony.

“ I am, &c.,

“ H. HUNTLEY.”

These letters from independent, high-minded, Christian gentlemen show as plainly as it is possible to do that Sir Andries Stockenstrom was not alone in the view which he took of the transaction, and well may he continue his personal narrative with the exclamation.

Such was the reprisal system, which it was treason to denounce ! Nine years later the fruit was ripe, and we enjoyed it to our hearts' content. The land is ours : from thirty to one hundred thousand of the natives are under our foot and lash ; we have scrambled for many millions of John Bull's taxes through the military chest—medals and promotions immortalize our glorious triumphs over naked savages, and we have civilized and Christianized KAMA ! Such is the success of the “divine mission” of the go-ahead Anglo-Saxon race in South Africa. With the history of Britain, Ireland, North America, Hindostan, Burmah, and China we have nothing to do here just now.

However, from this digression we have to return to 1826, when General Bourke took charge of the Government upon the departure of Lord Charles Somerset. He lost no time in visiting the Frontier districts, and at Graaff Reinet entered as deeply as time would permit into the investigation of the public interests. The crisis was peculiarly important. The successive orders from home in connection with the question of slavery were causing a great deal of excitement.

Hardly had the Lieutenant-Governor left the district when it became a matter of serious discussion among the Heemraden and myself whether a step forward might not be initiated for the ultimate abolition of slavery in the Colony, and I am bound to say that I found the most liberal feelings on the subject to exist among these unsophisticated Boers, whom it was the fashion to identify with everything cruel and narrow-minded in connection with the coloured classes. I have never denied nor justified certain prejudices inseparable from the unnatural position into which the existing system of colonization had brought them, but of wanton cruelty or obstinate resistance to the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines, if brought clearly home to their understanding, I readily acquit the mass of the old white population of those days. I give this instance with great pride and satisfaction. The Heemraden, in agitating the question with zeal, soon felt satisfied that the slave-holders might be brought to consent to fix an early date after which every female child of a slave-mother should be born free, and so confident were they, that I took upon myself to call a public meeting of all the parties interested throughout the district. I reported this step, of course. Such a demonstration being then quite unusual, rather astonished and alarmed the Government,

whose sanction I received, but not without a private hint that His Excellency relied on my prudence and discretion.

In a private note from Sir Richard Plasket accompanying his official communication on the subject, bearing date 7th September, 1826, he says :—

“The Government at home as well as here will in my opinion feel most grateful for any liberal proposition relative to gradual emancipation which may be made by the slave proprietors of Graaff Reinets, and the example cannot but have a good effect coming from so old, so extensive, and so flourishing a district as yours is, and I have little doubt that such proposal would be followed up by similar ones in other parts of the Colony. It would have a good effect too at home in regard to the proposed clause for the restriction of slave-labour.”

The meeting was most successful! nay, beyond all expectation: an amendment was moved by a simple slave-holding Boer with an emphatic speech, and carried with acclamation, that the males should be included in the boon as well as the females. A committee was appointed to carry out the measure in conjunction with one then in existence in Cape Town bearing on the slave question. The proceedings were sent to the latter, but no ulterior steps were taken. The cause of this hitch was never explained, but the fault certainly did not lie with the Graaff Reinets slave-holders.

In a private note from Sir R. Plasket to the Landdrost of Graaff Reinets, dated September 22, 1826, the proceedings of this meeting are thus spoken of:

“I have seen the resolutions of your slave proprietors, which were forwarded to the Cape Town Committee. They, however, have not thought proper to publish them, for what reason I know not; but I much regret it, because

your resolutions are liberal and proper, and they begin at the right end, with holding out some prospect of eventual emancipation. I have already given you my opinion as to the conduct of the Cape Committee to Government, and it has not changed for the better, since I have heard that they have kept back the views of the slave-owners of your district. My opinion is that the Cape Committee never intended, or wished to go as far as you have done, and being inclined to back out of it altogether, they are rather annoyed and ashamed at seeing more liberal proposals from others. I trust, however, your Heemraden will not be led by them, and I hope that the slave proprietors in this neighbourhood, although they would not initiate anything of the kind, may feel inclined to follow a good example, when set before them," and in a private letter from Captain Stockenstrom to the Colonial Secretary, dated October 5, 1826, he thus comments on the meeting: "The meeting of slaveholders has taken place; a more orderly set of people never came together, though greater discontent never existed, and more bitter complaints never were made. I feel happy that they were brought to meet, and I believe I may trust that they returned to their homes much easier in their minds.

"I am sorry to find myself lugged into the Committee, for I am in many respects not of the popular opinion. On the principal point, however, I am glad to say, we are all agreed; viz., to extinguish slavery as soon as possible by freeing the female children to be born after a certain period, and thereby to render all obnoxious regulations relative to slaves unnecessary, to this no one individual objected; and indeed the statement of grievances signed by about 200 urges some such step, so that I suppose a proposal for that purpose will form the basis



on which the Committee will found its representations towards obtaining relief. Indeed the clamour of some in and numbers out of the Committee are very great for including the boys, in order, as they say, to avoid further persecution, but to this I have by no means made up my mind to consent on the public question, though ready to do so on my own behalf. Heaven grant that the whole Colony may be brought to agree in favour of *the girls, at least*, and that Government may be thereby moved to bring the Slave question to a satisfactory settlement." And in an earlier letter to Sir R. Plasket, dated August 25, 1826, before the said meeting took place he says:—"I collected all the Heemraden and ex-Heemraden I could find yesterday, and must do them the justice to say that I heard as liberal sentiments as even a Wilberforce or a Buxton would not have been ashamed of. The following expressions uttered with great warmth, I am sure will please you: 'Yes, emancipate the children as soon as you like. I will even volunteer to give up those already born, under a certain age, but do not deprive me of my paternal authority, under which both my children and slaves are happy, and which is necessary for their and my peace;' and on the 29th of September, 1826, he writes to the Colonial Secretary, "I have just received yours of the 22nd, and am glad that our resolutions please you: their not being published puzzles me as much as it does you, for if the object really was to get the proposals, or suggestions from other parts, why not let them know our views in order to have them backed, or counteracted. Your wise editors talk of the benefit of free discussion, and they themselves are the greatest jobbers in the business I ever saw; they bewilder the ignorant by new theories every week, directly contradictory to each other; one week

crying up the blessings of liberty, the next showing how the most humane of Governors was obliged to import slaves. I prefer the worst of radicalism to such trash.

"In the meantime the town is beginning to be crowded with slaveholders already. I am happy the meeting was thought of, for I am certain some dangerous steps would have been taken ere this; the clamour is prodigious; and I have heard of the most extraordinary instances of irritation, which I consider the more necessary to counteract, as its not availing anything against the Government would only make it fall on the defenceless. I hope everything will now subside into a peaceable discussion of the matter. From what I can learn, the complaints are principally levelled against the *Free Labour Clause* and the *Mantatee Order*.

"As for the Ordinance, I understand it is alleged that the slave is left entirely without constraint, and the master at his mercy. A few days now will show, for I am told that a clever fellow living at Cradock has been sent for to reduce their suggestions to writing. He is a very able man, writes Dutch well, and is well capable of giving good advice if he chooses. If I have anything to do with the Committee, which I would rather avoid, I shall certainly do my duty to *Government* and the *People*.

"I remain firmly convinced that nothing short of the extermination of slavery can save us from the greatest calamities; without a prospect of it the people and the Government at home will never cease plaguing the masters, and the slaves will torment them to such a pitch that one execution after the other must be the result. If the people are for perpetuating slavery, I am for upholding the Ordinance; if they will let the girls be born free, I declare to God there is not the least shadow of a pretence left for any opprobrious disabilities against

the master that I can see ; in that case there are regulations both in and out of the Ordinance, the continuation of which I should consider most oppressive, and I think the Ordinance will have done much good in having shown the people the necessity of putting a stop to slavery ; this is what I considered its tendency from the first, and I have made it accessory to my argument for emancipation ever since, but I shall not consider myself in honour justified to insist on the sacrificing (which I think so absolutely requisite) without being able to give the people some sort of assurance that what can really be made out to be a grievance in the slave business shall be redressed.

“ The *Free Labour Clause* is but a drop in the ocean, in comparison to the removal of the rod from the hand of the master, *as long as slavery exists*, and that removal has virtually taken place, and the equilibrium in the Ordinance has been effectually destroyed by the introduction of the instrument now used in prisons. Ill-treatment and cruelty must be powerfully checked on the one side, and the most powerful restraints against insubordination, disobedience, and idleness, must exist on the other.

“ The evils connected with too much power in the hands of the master are inseparable from slavery, and this is the principal reason why I wish to have that state extinct in the present, or at least the next generation. If we desire a proof of the lamentable consequences of a want of proper checks on the conduct of our species proportionate to their condition and feelings in society, let us look to the state of the females of that unfortunate race, the Hottentots, since the indiscriminate prohibition against the flogging of females without the substitution of equivalent punishment. Let those who cry against flogging from purely humane motives (the rest I never

thought worthy of notice) say how their feelings revolt at the scenes sometimes exhibited by these unbridled wretches. Let us therefore reject all unreasonable demands on the part of the slave-holders, but let us not allow the slaves to get the upper hand, and above all let us not lose the opportunity of freeing our posterity from the dilemma, in which we are so deeply involved."

Returning, however, to Sir Andries's own narrative, of the events, he says :

"Three or four years later some of my friends in Cape Town entered into a combination, carrying out the above measure of manumission for as far as they and their slaves were concerned, and by reference to the Office of the Protector of Slaves, it will be found that Philip, the son of my female slave Rachel, was the first child born free under this pledge. I firmly believe that if this course could have been generally adopted and made law, slavery might have been put a stop to, more gradually, to be sure, but more conveniently, and more beneficially to all parties than by the twenty-million *part* compensation, and the precipitate casting adrift so many hundreds of thousands of human beings uncontrolled.

"The principle of compensation being admitted, the putting off the slave-holder with one-third of his claim was an arbitrary violation of the right of property, the effect of which in the case under review was to turn the tables against the Colonial agriculturist in favour of the commercial body chiefly in the mother country. England saw that she was paying out of her one pocket into the other. The partial compensation could not have paid for free labour if it had been procurable; the sudden influx of capital stimulated a temporary increase of luxury and created artificial wants, so that the whole

amount was not long in flowing back to the source whence it came ; besides that, the mode of paying opened the door to much jobbing and fraud, and thus aggravated, particularly among the ignorant dupes, a strong feeling of discontent and disaffection. The money was to be received in London, so that the slaveholders, who had already been fleeced of two-thirds of their admitted claims, were many of them done out of great part of the remaining third by means of agency discounts.

“Yet in spite of all drawbacks, of mismanagement and loss, it must be admitted that any plan of emancipation, however defective, was preferable to the hopeless state of bondage under which such vast numbers of our fellow beings were groaning. The matter of compensation to the master, and the injustice of abstracting two-thirds thereof, with a parade of sham generosity, were questions between the supreme power and the master, but the slave was the innocent victim, whose claim was distinct and paramount.

“As a matter of expediency it might be considered whether, for the interest of the existing generation of slaves themselves, as well as of the classes dependent on their labour, regulations might not have been contrived, so as to render it a greater boon to the former to remain under humane restraint and protection, with their children about them growing up free, whilst they themselves would become gradually extinct, than to be thrown suddenly unprepared upon their own resources, physically and morally, which necessarily were very weak ; but the time had come when slavery must cease, at the Cape at least, immediately or soon, and God be praised there is an end of it ! Slavery without hope of freedom is impossible without the lash, or rather the

constant fear of the lash. Even charity and benevolence become dangerous and never can generate gratitude, and how both tyrant and oppressed become demoralised and miserable under a system of eternal suspicion and terror is proved by the history of empires as well as of families.

“To dispose of this subject at once, I may add that under Sir Lowry Cole’s administration some strong excitement existed, which led to some warm discussions in Council. There was also a Philanthropic Society got up by some of the leading men of the community, whom I cordially joined, having for its object the purchase, emancipation, and education of female children. The likely effect of this measure was debated, but the purity of the object could not be questioned, and, when I proceeded to England in 1833, I was commissioned to procure contributions towards the funds of the society, but, on reaching London, I found Mr. Stanley’s Bill before the Legislature.”

## CHAPTER XIII.

1827-1828.

General Bourke—Office of Commissioner-General created—Stockenstrom appointed—Plasket Resigns—Street in Graaff Reinet named after him—Water Distribution—Leaves Graaff Reinet—Addresses—Regrets—Testimonial—W. C. van Ryneveld—Seat in Legislative Council—Names of Members of Legislative Council—Massacre at the Umtata—Never enquired into—Conflict of Civil with Military Authorities—Condition of Hottentots in 1797—Lord Caledon's Proclamation, 1809, 50th Ordinance—1st Circuit as Commissioner-General—Working of new system—Possession of Kat River by Makomo—Why permitted—Causes of Durban War—Dealings with Makomo—Departure of General Bourke—Cordiality between General Bourke and Stockenstrom—Sir L. Cole—Colonel Bell—Makomo attacks Tambookies—Expulsion determined on.

WE must now return to General Bourke, to whose lot it fell to enforce the new system of administration, recommended by the Commissioners of Enquiry, which was to take effect from the 1st of January, 1828. At last the time came that the Landdrosts and Boards of Heemraden were to be abolished, and I was puzzling myself what my future career was to be; my mind having been long made up that I should not enter upon the office of Civil Commissioner, which was to be substituted for that of Landdrost, when the Lieutenant-Governor informed me that his situation was likewise to cease as a matter of economy, and that the office of Commissioner-General for the Eastern Province was to be substituted. He added that the despatch of the Secretary of State *indicated* that I was the person to whom the latter office was to be given, but that in a private note Lord Goderich had mentioned my name.



His Excellency further observed that he would recommend that the Commissioner-General should have a seat in Council.

Among the private correspondence between Captain Stockenström and General Bourke are the following note from His Excellency, and the reply thereto.

“Government House,

“November 15th, 1827.

“MY DEAR SIR,—You will be informed officially by this post of my intention to appoint you Commissioner-General of the Frontier Provinces, an employment which will afford you an opportunity of continuing your services to the Colony, and has enabled me to testify the value I set upon those you have already rendered to it. Upon these grounds, I felt much pleasure that the Secretary of State had left to me the power of filling it up. The salary will be £800 a year, and the duty considerable, but I am not yet prepared to give you any precise instructions. They will, however, be conveyed to you before the end of the year. Nor can I until then appoint your place of residence, but wherever it may be, you will have to provide your own house.

“Yours very truly,

(Signed) “RICHARD BOURKE.”

His reply is as follows :

“His Honour the Lieut-Governor.

“Graaff Reinet,

“November 26, 1827.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I have been duly favoured with your Honour’s private note of the 15th inst. communicating your intention to appoint me Commissioner-General of the Frontier Provinces, and beg to assure you that the terms in which your motives for making such a choice

are couched, add considerably to the value of the appointment. If I had been fortunate enough to be better known to your Honour in *private* character and disposition, you would give me full credit when I state to you that, nothing but being overpowered by my feelings when you were pleased personally to inform me of your determination, prevented my expressing those sentiments which naturally would be expected to possess a sensible soul on such an occasion, for having made up my mind (excuse me for no longer concealing it) respectfully to tender my resignation as soon as I should be appointed Civil Commissioner, and being conscious of having no superior claims to my brethren in office, I had before me only the prospect of a dependence entirely on my half-pay and precarious agricultural pursuits. Nor will your Honour be disposed to attribute the satisfaction I derive from the change in my prospects to mercenary motives, when you consider that by the loss of my military pensions, and the obligation of providing my own house, the total of my emoluments will be less than what I had hitherto enjoyed, and very little above those of the Civil Commissioners, whilst my expenditure will be more than doubled ; but the reflection that in the midst of the most arduous political and judicial functions, to which I had never been led up, and in the execution of which I was ever haunted by the dread of doing wrong, I should have been so lucky as to gain the approbation of men incapable of sacrificing their public duty to private partialities, and to have a trust of such moment vested in me at a moment when I considered my official career drawing to a close, cannot but generate those affections which in your presence were nearly forcing their way from the heart, though not in words. I can only hope your Honour will never be

ashamed of the act, and the best return I can make is to do my utmost to prevent the Colony thinking that you ought to be. I shall be ready to receive and execute your Honour's instructions when you have prepared them, and shall be anxious to learn what the fate of the other officers of this district is to be, particularly the District Clerk, who has been four times passed over with the promise of early provision, who has a wife and large family, and who (though related to me) I do not hesitate to recommend to your Honour's consideration as a man of strict honesty, integrity and good sense.

"I beg leave to subscribe myself, &c., &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

It would be affectation to deny that I felt great pride at this appointment; but the feeling was after a few moments of reflection not a little modified by an irresistible alarm at the prospect of the responsibility with which I was going to be overwhelmed in an administrative, as well as in a legislative capacity, especially when it became evident how the political relations of my jurisdiction must throw me into contact with the military authority, who had long aspired to the highest position on the Frontier, towards whose elevation so many addresses, petitions, and intrigues had been set in motion, and whose hostile feeling with respect to me was quite notorious. However, I had neither sought, nor expected the appointment—up to this moment I do not even know to what, or to whom I owed it. I had never been in England. I knew not one single influential man there, except Lord Caledon and Howden, and Sir Rufane Donkin, who were not in communication with Downing Street at the time. My friends Graham and Collins were no more, Lord C. Somerset entertained

opposite views, and although I knew the Commissioners of Enquiry not to be hostile, I had no reason to believe their opinion so far favourable that they would help to raise me to something like a Lieutenant-Governorship.

Having thus, not by foul means, sycophancy, or favouritism, got into the predicament, I was determined to face it and do my duty in it.

I suffered a great loss by the resignation and departure of Sir Richard Plasket, who had shown himself during his short residence an honourable, independent man, with a most lively interest in the welfare of the Colony. The Board of Heemraden, under this impression of his character, named one of the streets in the Town of Graaff Reinet after him, and gave him notice of the resolution, to which he replied as follows :—

“ Capetown,

“ January 11, 1828.

“ GENTLEMEN,—I cannot but consider myself flattered by the mark of respect you have shown towards me in proposing to give my name to one of the streets in your town.

“ The circumstances under which you have made this request would be ample guarantee for the purity of your motives, were any such wanting ; but, independently of this, I am well convinced that your worthy President would never have put his name to the letter had the offer originated in mere flattery.

“ As far as I am individually concerned I accept of your kind proposal with sincere satisfaction, and in returning you my thanks, I have the honour to subscribe myself

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) “ RICH. PLASKET,

“ Secretary to Government,

“ The late Landdrost and Heemraden of the District of Graaff Reinet. ”

This reply was recorded in the Minutes of the Board, and shows, independent of our private correspondence, the feeling which existed between him and me. I shall show hereafter my reason for attaching importance to the terms on which I lived with all those with whom I came in contact, either through official duty or other circumstances connected with my public functions.

The Board was now soon to be abolished. To its co-operation and support I owed my success, and it possessed my unqualified confidence and attachment. It was perfectly prepared to deliver over its charge to scrutiny and criticism, yet several members thought that we ought still to take upon ourselves the responsibility of the water distribution of the town. Since the first establishment in 1786, Erven had been ceded to private individuals, and as long as these were few and water plentiful, each helped himself without any solicitude about water rights. As the village extended, provisional arrangements were made at the discretion of the Board, without the holders having any such *right by purchase* to show, and when at last it became expedient to enter that right in the "Conditions of Sale," it was just done at random, one deed being copied from another, when the actual conditions were perhaps forgotten, and in many deeds the conditions were left blank altogether. This process had gradually thrown the water distribution into inextricable confusion, for which all parties concerned were to blame, but against which particularly the Landdrost and Secretaries ought to have guarded, and which had been acquiesced in because it was supposed that there would always be an abundance of water, and because everybody saw that the provisional distribution was conducted with fairness and equity. This state of things the Board did not think fair to throw

upon their successors : most of the six Members, as well as the Landdrost, were themselves Erf-holders ; some retired Heemraden were in the same predicament, and many of the oldest and most respectable of the Town inhabitants, long accustomed to the distribution and localities, were likewise able to assist. With the co-operation of all these parties combined, under the eye of the whole public, almost all deeply interested, all records old and new being consulted, after months of trial the Board drew up a general distribution, which gave to every man his due ; to many—such as “Drooge Erven,” what they were not entitled to, and believed that they had indeed disentangled a labyrinth. In my case they knew that, in spite of Koop Condition, I had by purchase become entitled to a great quantity of “nacht water” at a time when irrigation by night was of little value, but I left them to dispose of my hours “just as they thought proper,” and they did so. All the land I possessed in the place could hardly be worth a thousand pounds, so that at any rate I could not lose much, and I do not believe there was then a soul in Graaff Reinets who doubted that I would readily have sacrificed the whole to benefit what was called “my hobby.” The distribution was considered a masterpiece, and worked like the clock. It will be soon seen why I have entered so much into detail.

In the beginning of 1828 I left the residence where my parents had arrived in 1803, and where we had passed so many happy days, though some in sorrow. My poor father's memory was indeed held dear, and those who remember my departure can tell what little impression had been made upon all that was decent in the community by the machinations which had for some time been at work to indicate me as the “black cham-

pion." It is known what importance I attach to popular addresses in general, and we daily see how little sincere conviction and true feeling have to do with them ; but I received one which I valued from my knowledge of the persons who had initiated it, who spoke upon many years' experience, and who vouched for its containing the sentiments of the whole district, besides those who had had an opportunity of subscribing it. This address I had occasion to appeal to on my trial in Graham's Town in 1838. Thus I parted with a document dear to me ; but among the papers of that commission it is to be found, of course.

This address, however, was not the only one presented to the departing Landdrost. They were indeed very numerous, and came from every remote corner of the wide district of Graaff Reinet. From among eight such addresses, preserved among his private papers containing the original signatures of some hundreds of the old inhabitants, two must suffice as a fair sample of the spirit which they all so warmly breathe forth, and to which the pen of the Translator from the Dutch Originals is incompetent to do justice. The first is addressed to the Landdrost himself, the second to the Acting Governor General Bourke.

"Hantam,

"October 23, 1827.

"To the Honourable the Landdrost A. Stockenstrom.

"We, the inhabitants of the sub-district of New Hantam, inform you that we have heard with the deepest sorrow of your departure from this our district, and take the liberty of unreservedly stating that we cannot think you will willingly leave us, except in case of the greatest necessity. For your fatherly administration and rule over us, your anxiety for our welfare in the midst of difficulties, your friendliness towards every one of the



inhabitants, your righteous discharge of all your official duties, and your whole character have not deserved this, that we should wish to lose you. And we also think that we have not deserved of you that you should leave us.

“We have always obeyed you, and have you not always enjoyed our esteem? Have we not always thankfully acknowledged all that you planned for us? Have you not for fully thirteen years had experience of our conduct? and have we not during all that time shared with you in troubles and difficulties, and along with you defended the boundaries of this and other districts? and have you not had power through our behaviour to defend us with our honoured Government against evil reports, which would have brought us into distress?

“Why then will you leave us? Will not your tender heart have compassion upon us?—for where will you find yourself, or how be able to stop your ears, so as not to hear of our miseries and troubles? And how shall we in adversity or prosperity forget you, our father? Why must we in our lifetime be separated from each other, so contrary to our expectation? We cannot think that the man will be easily found whom we would choose before you; and this thirsty region, and the insufficient means of subsistence in it, are well-known to you; and who then can govern us with your ability?

“We shall come before our honoured Government with urgent petitions to retain you, setting forth how happy we have always found ourselves under your wise administration as regards our means of subsistence, as well as churches and schools.

“Our relations with you will never cease; so that we still expect that, if you leave us, wherever you may be you will think of us and our circumstances.

"But we still hope for the best, and have the honour to subscribe ourselves

"Your Honour's obedient servants,

(Signed)      "GIDEON D. JOUBERT,"  
*Field-Cornet*, and 79 others.

The memorial to the Acting-Governor was as follows :—

"Hantam,

"October 23, 1827.

"To His Honour Major-General Richard Bourke, acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

"The undersigned inhabitants of the district of Graaff Reinet beg most respectfully that they may be permitted humbly to present this memorial for the consideration of your Honour.

"We have for a considerable time understood that our worthy Landdrost, the Honourable A. Stockenstrom, is about to be removed, and that he will thus leave this vast district, which His Honour has for thirteen years governed as a wise ruler ; and this, to our great sorrow, now seems to be becoming more and more certain.

"We therefore respectfully pray that it may please your Honour that we may retain our Landdrost ; the man who has ruled as a father ; under whose command, we have defended the borders, and shared with him, while separated from our families, every discomfort ; the man who restored rest and peace, and under whose administration churches and schools have been promoted for the establishment of our revered religion and of morality.

"Supported by the Government, His Honour has cared for the improvement of husbandry and stock-farming. The confidence which we repose in him in this work, in

these impecunious times, is that in a few years he will enable our district to supply our needs by means of other industries.

“And lastly, this true philanthropist, as we may call him, is not only acquainted with his whole district, but also with the situation and value of each farm, and with the character of the owners of the same; a friend to those who conduct themselves according to law, and a terror to transgressors. The Landdrost enjoys the esteem of every inhabitant. We beseech your Honour with tears not to leave us deserted. The departure of our Landdrost would plunge us and our families into cares and troubles in these distressing times. We hope and trust that our supplications may be entertained by your Honour; and if His Majesty’s Government be not authorised to assent thereto, that your Honour may be pleased to support it in the highest quarters in England.

“We have the honour to be,

“Your Honour’s obedient servants,

(Signed) “GIDEON D. JOUBERT,”

and 79 others.

Some of the memorials and addresses surpass the above in the expression of the intense regard in which the Landdrost was held, and couched as they are in the unsophisticated language of these simple and worthy men, written no doubt by the best penman among them, but in characters not very easily deciphered, were highly valued throughout the remainder of his life by Sir A. Stockenstrom, who proceeds with his narrative.

A testimonial consisting of a valuable piece of plate, which was presented to me about the same time, may perhaps be considered more as a token of the feeling of a select number of friends than as a political demonstration on the part of the public, although the Civil Commissioner

especially deputed, gave it me in the name of his District.

Mr. William Cornelis van Ryneveld took charge of the District as Civil Commissioner, and was received with open arms as my countryman, brother-officer, and school-fellow.

On reaching Cape Town, I took my seat in Council, but the drawing-up of instructions for the Commissioner-General was postponed.

The Legislative Council then consisted of (1) Major General R. Bourke, Lieut.-Governor President; (2) Sir John Wylde, Chief Justice; (3) Sir R. Plasket, Secretary to Government; (4) Lieut.-Colonel John Daniell, next in command to the Commander of the Forces; (5) Lieut.-Colonel John Bell, acting Secretary to Government; (6) J. W. Stoll, Treasurer-General; (7) Sir John Truter, Knight; (8) Andries Stockenstrom, Commissioner-General.

The new Judges, Sir J. Wylde, Messrs. Menzies and Burton, had arrived, and joined by Mr. Kekewich, formerly of the Admiralty Court, constituted the Supreme Court in operation since the 1st of January. Mr. Oliphant, the Attorney-General, had superseded the Fiscal, and numerous other changes took place throughout the Colony.

Reports had reached the Government that some of Mantatee hordes, who had been checked in their migrations or flight southward by the sight of and contact with the firearms of the Griquas, as described by Mr. George Thompson, had thence taken an easterly course, and come into collision with the Ama Temboo and Ama Galeka. Major Dundas, the late Landdrost of Albany, having accepted the Office of Civil Commissioner of that District, went with armed force into Kaffirland to reconnoitre, and having come into contact with Mantatees, or

rather the Fetcani branch of them, he in self-defence, as it was said, repelled their attempt to surround his party by a discharge of firearms, by which many of the enemy were killed and wounded. The latter, finding themselves once more in a land of gunpowder and shot, again changed their course, and were encamped and going to settle down in the open uninhabited country about the sources of the Umtata, hoping there to find rest after the loss of their country, and wandering and straggling over some thousands of miles, when one morning at break of day an Anglo-Galeka army, under Colonel Somerset, fell upon them unexpectedly with great guns, and small guns, and sabres and assagais, and made such indiscriminate havoc before the savages were awake, or knew what had come upon them, that the panic was so complete that our Kaffir allies had only to complete the *victory* by atrocities such as exaggeration has hardly been able to lay to the charge of that monster Nana Sahib. However, as the version which I received of these deeds of glory is truly heart-rending, I prefer appealing to the accounts given by the missionary Kay and others.

And what does the missionary Kay say of this awful tragedy? A few short extracts from his record must suffice :—

“I lost no time,” says Colonel Somerset, “in sending the supports forward, when the action became general at all points.” This, observe, took place about dawn of day, so that while a great part of the people were still fast asleep, the rush of horses, the clashing of spears, and the roar of musquetry thus poured in upon them on every side. According to information communicated to the author by persons who witnessed the whole scene, very few seconds seem to have elapsed ere every hut was vacated, and thousands seen scampering off in every direction ; numbers, gaunt and emaciated by hunger and age, crawled out of their miserable sheds, but with pitiable apathy

sat or lay down again as if heedless of their fate. Many of the females cast away their little ones, the more readily to effect their own escape; whilst others actually plunged into the deepest part of the adjacent river with their infants upon their backs. In this situation some were drowned, others speared, and many stoned to death by the savage throng. When the troops returned to the point whence they started, the field presented a scene indescribably shocking: old decrepid men, with their bodies pierced, and heads almost cut off; pregnant females ripped open, legs broken, and hands severed from the arms for the purpose apparently of getting the armlets, or some other trifling ornament; little children mutilated and horribly mangled; many in whom the spark of life had become extinct; some who were still struggling in the agonies of death, and others nearly lifeless, endeavouring to crawl about amongst the dead.

The narrative of such atrocities committed upon a wandering tribe in search of a home, a tribe with whom we were in no respect concerned, who were so far from being at war with us that they were actually sleeping peacefully with their aged and infirm, their women and children around them, committed under the auspices of a British officer, makes one's ears tingle. Well may Sir Andries Stockenstrom continue his narrative with the following biting but just irony.

What a splendid illustration of the Christian doctrine of the absurdity of being fettered by the principles of international law, honesty, truth, or justice in our dealings with tribes of fellow beings, less civilized, less cunning, less strong, and less rich than ourselves. These unhappy fugitives, who never could have injured a hair of our heads; who were so far beyond our reach; of whom we had now heard for the first time, whose very name was new to us, and who could hold their own against enemies as barbarous as themselves, we thus crushed and made slaves under those same enemies, from whose possession

we pretended with much boasting to emancipate them some six years later under the name of Fingoes, and these Fingoes we now keep ready to cut the throats of the very heathen of 1828, whom we then helped to cut theirs. Such is the divine mission of the go-ahead Anglo-Saxon race! and it is to be presumed that these valiant deeds on the Umtala count among the "*distinguished or meritorious services*" for which we are and have been receiving rewards, medals, and promotions. General Bourke was determined to have the whole affair minutely enquired into, and told me that it would necessarily come under my cognizance; but his functions ceased almost immediately after, and when I expressed my surprise that I had never received any report or official notice of any kind, I was told that the case appeared to be of too exclusively military a character for me to be troubled with. I was, however, subsequently taunted by a certain military officer with having *allowed this case to slip through my fingers*, when, unfortunately losing my temper, I said: "First I am told that I am bound to take cognizances of the case: next, as soon as I am going to do my duty, in defiance of uncles or fathers, it is found that the case is *exclusively military*; but no sooner does the sinner get into bad odour, when it seems desirable to give him a squeeze, whilst a wholesome fear of the Horse Guards and its Secretary paralyzes all of you, it is expected that I shall officiously become the cat's paw. Now let it be clearly understood what my duties are, and see whether I shall not do them. It is to me perfectly clear that no Civil Governor will ever be able to control the Frontier, with Colonel Somerset as Commandant and his uncle omnipotent at Head Quarters. I want nothing from either, but if I can serve the former without humbling myself, I shall go far to do so, and not an inch



will I go out of my way to injure him. I neither love him, nor fear him, but hate I cannot even the Devil, except in self-defence. I therefore will not now insist on a Court of Enquiry, but simply record my views of the case." This foolish speech made me an enemy, but not one who ever I believe attempted to injure me. He was a right-minded man, and knew that what I said was correct.

By this time General Bourke was gone, but I must not part with him without noticing the 50th Ordinance, which passed under his administration, and my first circuit as Commissioner-General on which he sent me.

Here it is necessary to pause for the purpose of describing the condition of the Hottentots previous to the passing of this Ordinance, without which information its provisions can scarcely be understood and appreciated.

Their position had already in 1797 engaged the attention of the Government, and among the earliest papers of the late Baronet is the following enactment intended for their protection. It is signed by the elder Stockenstrom, who was then Secretary at Swellendam, and is an original. Extract from minutes of a meeting of Heemraden held at Zwelendam on Monday, the 4th of December, 1797 (of which the following is a translation from the Dutch).

"Whereas the Landdrost has for a long time past been continually burdened with complaints from the inhabitants, that they detain and entice away from one another their runaway Hottentots; and also from Hottentots, that they do not duly receive their wages, nor when their term of contract is expired can obtain their release, while also some of the Veldwagtmeesters have made known that they meet with the greatest dissatisfaction among the inhabitants about these matters, it is therefore, after mature consideration, resolved to institute and ordain—

"First. That all and each of the inhabitants shall

be bound to provide with proper passes Hottentots going on messages, in order that every one may be able to know that such person has not run away, or deserted ; whilst those who are proceeding to the Drostdy or the Cape must be provided with a pass from the Veldwagtmeester.

“Secondly. That no one shall have the power to detain such Hottentots ; but when one or more Hottentots may come to a person without a proper pass, he shall be obliged to give immediate information thereof to the Veldwagtmeester.

“Thirdly. No one shall have the right of enticing Hottentots from another, nor of detaining from the owner those that have deserted.

“Lastly. Every inhabitant shall be bound not to ill-treat their Hottentots, nor to deprive them of their proper wages ; and further, to grant them full liberty when they have completed their term of service, to choose whether they will remain in service, or engage themselves to others.

“Every one who acts contrary hereto shall be subject to a fine of Rds. 25, to be paid into the Treasury, and written notice hereof shall be given to all Veldwagtmeesters, who must narrowly watch over all this, and on finding that any one ventures to transgress any one or other point, must lay information thereof with the nearest resident Heemraad, who is empowered hereby, after making proper enquiry, both to cause the transgressor to conform to the foregoing orders, and also to lay information at the Drostdy, so that the fine may be recovered. While each Veldwagtmeester shall be obliged to make known in his district this order and statute, so that no one can pretend ignorance thereof.

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM,

“*Secretary.*”

This act or enactment of the Landdrost and Heemraden of Zwellendam, promulgated in times of such general dissatisfaction and disturbance, redounds greatly to the credit of its framers, and shows that even in those dark ages there were amongst the early inhabitants those who were sincerely desirous of doing what was right. When in 1803 the Colony reverted to the Batavian Government, Governor-General Jansens, in his code of instructions to Landdrosts, upheld the same principles, which were re-enacted and amplified in Lord Caledon's proclamation of 1809, of which the following is a *précis*.

"*Précis* of proclamation by Du Pré, Earl of Caledon, dated November 1, 1809.

"(1.) Enacts, that every Hottentot must have a fixed place of abode, to be registered with the Fiscal, and shall not change his abode without certificate from Fiscal or Landdrost, on pain of being considered a vagabond.

"(2.) That a master engaging a Hottentot must appear before Fiscal or Landdrost, and there

"(3.) Make contract to be signed in triplicate, one part to be kept by each, and one by the Fiscal—no other contracts valid. When the contract includes the Hottentot's wife and children, the necessities of life are to be supplied to them.

"(4.) That on expiry of agreement the Hottentot is to be at liberty to depart with his cattle and all his property, under penalty on master of Rds. 100.

"(5.) That the master shall be bound to pay the wages agreed upon, and if making default, shall be tried before a Committee of the Court of Justice, or before Landdrost and Heemraden, and on conviction shall be adjudged to pay the wages, the contract to be annulled, and no compensation allowed to him for necessities supplied.

“(6.) That cases of ill-treatment of Hottentots by their master shall be tried before same Courts, and if proved, contract to be annulled, and master fined from Rds. 10 to Rds. 50. If complaint wanton or malignant, Hottentot to be punished.”

(This section not to extend to mutilations, which are to be prosecuted according to common law.)

“(7.) That all supplies furnished by master to servant, when chargeable against wages, shall be stated to Ward Master or Field Cornet, and registered on Hottentot affirming same; if not registered, cannot be deducted from wages.

“(8.) That no wine, brandy, or spirituous liquor shall be allowed for, if supplied to Hottentot.

“(9.) That if supplies to Hottentot exceed amount of wages, no claim for his further services shall be founded thereon, but he shall be free to depart, and the master may proceed to recover the debt *ordinario modo*.

“(10.) That the wife and children of any Hottentot shall not be liable to detention for debt of husband and father, nor for debt due by themselves—all debts recoverable *ordinario modo*.

“(11.) That on death of Hottentot, the wife and children, if not personally engaged, free to depart and to take away all their property. All disputes to come before Committee of Court of Justice or Heemraden.

“(12.) All property of deceased Hottentot to be given up by master.

“(13.) That Hottentots when contracted shall be bound to serve diligently and honestly, and to behave with due submission, under pain of domestic correction, or confiscation of wages, or temporary confinement, or more severe corporal punishment, according to exigency of case, and shall serve out their full time.

“(14.) That public criminal offences shall be prosecuted by the Fiscal or Landdrost in the usual manner.

“(15.) That no master shall engage a Hottentot unless he be provided with a certificate that he has duly served his time with previous master, or if in military service, has obtained his discharge, under penalty against master of Rds. 100 to 116. All Hottentots going about country to be provided with passes, and when found without passes, to be handed over to the Field Cornet, or Landdrost, or Fiscal.”

The next enactment for the protection and advancement of the Hottentots was the 50th Ord. As early as April 3, 1828, the Commissioner-General submitted to the Lieut.-Governor a memorandum on the position of the free inhabitants of the Colony in the following terms:—

“The distinction made between the several classes of the free inhabitants of the Colony by the existing laws appear, in a great measure, calculated to retard the improvement of those which are considered, either through prejudice or on account of their unfortunate condition, as belonging to the lower orders of this community. I allude particularly to the coloured classes; and in as far as the aborigines are concerned, those laws have not only thus retarded their improvement, but they conspired with the said prejudices, which they keep alive, and the humiliation they generate in the minds of these oppressed people themselves, to lower, more and more, the degraded state in which they are at present placed in the scale of society.

“The policy of this distinction and these partialities seems to have originated in the necessity felt by the earliest migrators into the interior, to prevent the possibility of retaliation on the part of the natives for the

aggressions and outrages committed against them, by crushing their power and securing their unlimited submission. The impotence of the Government, its ignorance of the true state of affairs in the remote parts of the Colony, hardly ever visited by any enlightened individual capable or willing to give the necessary faithful information,—and, perhaps, the interest which some of the rulers themselves had in the perpetuation of the oppressions alluded to,—caused too ready an ear to be lent to the representations relative to the necessity of using every precaution against the chance of the natives recovering themselves—becoming again of consequence in their lost country, and dangerous to their conquerors. This system of ‘keeping down’ being strictly acted upon, gradually degraded the moral character of the natives, and generated the plea that they were too miserable and inferior a species, either to appreciate or to be benefited by a participation in the liberties and rights enjoyed by their more powerful and fortunate fellow-subjects, to which they had an equal title. But these laws, kept alive under the same pretences and pleas, have now existed too long not to have convinced us that (if even a more liberal system should do no good) they certainly have not been productive of one single beneficial effect. Thus much is said merely to show that, at any rate, the old system is not worth retaining any longer; but it is confidently hoped (and the writer thinks himself supported by experience, after having weighed all objections and arguments on both sides of the question) that, by doing justice to the said classes, the inconveniences inseparable from the system complained of will disappear, without making place for those apprehended by the advocates of the existing disabilities of the blacks. I, therefore, do not hesitate to recommend

the enactment of a law placing every free inhabitant in the Colony on a level, in the eye of the law, as to the enjoyment of personal liberty and the security of his property, subject, of course, to those limitations which the local circumstances of individuals may subject them to, upon principles admitted and acted upon under most civilized governments, such as the disqualification of persons not having the right of citizenship to hold landed property, and the like.

“ Having particularly in view the Hottentots, I shall more minutely refer to that race, though I must again urge the necessity of including the free blacks of all classes in the intended boon, in as far as the same can apply to their condition.

“ The Hottentots being natives of the Colony, and consequently, in my opinion, born to the right of citizenship, and entitled to hold land (though I have heard this disputed), stand naturally on a level with the burgers, save the drawbacks entailed upon them by the laws which I propose to remove. There are many of these scattered through the enactments from the earliest legislation of the Colony—too numerous, perhaps, to collect ; as, for instance, the prohibition against their possessing fire-arms ; their liability to perform duties to which the whites would not condescend ; their obligation to show passes to any person of the latter colour, though in every other respect, perhaps, their inferiors ; the deprivation and apprenticeship of their children, when often they themselves can provide for those children, and, perhaps, better than the master to whom the same are bound. All these, and many such, it would be difficult to repeat by name and date, as some might escape unnoticed ; and *therefore*, as also to avoid the odium of denominating particular classes, it would be advisable to frame one



comprehensive law, embracing *all free inhabitants without reference to colour or name of the tribe.*

“The apprenticeship of prize negroes being regulated by Act of Parliament, does not come within the province of colonial legislation, beyond the provision of placing these apprentices, to all intents and purposes, on the same footing with all other free aliens in the Colony. The emigrants from the bordering tribes coming into the Colony are already provided for by an ordinance referred to His Majesty’s Government for approbation ; so that in respect to them there is nothing here to observe, except that any applicable regulation to be contained in the ordinance now proposed, and omitted in that specially framed in regard to themselves, will be made to bind them also.

“The law I would propose would necessarily enact strict prohibitions against such an abuse of the liberty generally conceded, as would endanger the peace of the community. It would become absolutely necessary that a person travelling to any distance from where he is known should be provided with a pass, or be able to satisfy the local authorities that his pursuits are legal ; but no one should be bound to account for his proceedings or objects, except to such authority, unless he be taken upon well-founded suspicion of criminality, skulking in secret haunts without apparent means of subsistence, or collecting in gangs, in which cases it would become the duty of every inhabitant to secure such person or persons, immediately delivering them over to the nearest justice of the peace, field-cornet, or constable,—and the laws against vagrants would undoubtedly require to be rigorously enforced. As a necessary concomitant of such regulations, the obligation under which the white inhabitants now lie of being registered in some one of

the districts, would also rest upon all others, and be insisted on with equal strictness.

“No one can, of course, be prevented from engaging as a servant to another ; but no servant’s contract for more than a month’s duration should be valid, unless the same be formally entered into before a notary or a clerk of the peace, or justice of the peace, in writing, fully containing the conditions, and subscribed by the parties, the said notary, clerk, or justice, being bound to certify that the parties fully understood the engagements they entered into. Nor should these written contracts, thus formally passed, be allowed to be of longer duration than one year.

“The apprenticing of children, as ordained or authorized by the proclamations of the 23rd April, 1812, and 23rd May, 1823, should, I think, be abolished as most injurious and oppressive ; and that no such apprenticing of children should be allowed, except upon the principle laid down in the proclamation of the 9th July, 1819, and followed up in the Ordinance above alluded to as sent home for His Majesty’s allowance. Even said proclamation should be amended, so that the nearest relative of the child to be apprenticed under its provisions, who is able and willing to take charge of its proper education, should have a preferable claim to remoter connections or strangers. It is superfluous to observe that it is not here meant to interfere with the right of parents or guardians to bind their children or wards as apprentices, or any competent individual to bind himself

“If His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor should be pleased to attach any weight to these observations, and contemplate an ordinance, various minutiae would come under consideration ; as only the leading principles of the policy suggested to be adopted are above laid down

with every possible deference to His Honour's better judgment.

"Cape Town, April 3, 1828."

This was the origin of the 50th Ordinance, which has ever since been considered the Magna Charta of the native races of the Colony. In the preparation of the Ordinance itself Mr. Justice Burton took a prominent part; and it has for so many years formed part of the "Statute Law of the land," that further comment on it is altogether unnecessary.

In his celebrated speech in the Legislative Council in 1854, Sir Andries, speaking of the above enactment, said, "And here I must take the opportunity of confessing my share, my complicity in that great crime, so that one more may be added to the list of my political delinquencies in my native land, for here I lay before you the memorandum in which that so-called Hottentot Magna Charta originated. There it is, filthy, as it has been mouldering among heaps of dusty papers which were supposed to be consigned to oblivion, but which the present melancholy transactions have caused to be raked up. By that document that excellent man, Sir Richard Bourke, was first moved to enter upon the framing of the said Ordinance, which received its legal shape and details from another excellent man, Mr. Justice Burton."

We must, however, now resume the personal narrative which proceeds.

I may just incidentally mention that the shortest and wisest law ever enacted at the Cape, viz., that on the Corn trade, was likewise passed during General Bourke's administration. The object of my circuit was one of general inspection, with caution, however, not to involve myself in any matter of doubtful jurisdiction

except upon special reference, before the nature of my functions should be clearly understood and specific instruction should be drawn up. Thus I launched upon a troubled sea without a rudder. Nothing, however, of great importance came in my way.

The new magistrates seemed personally liked, and the system of administration just introduced had not been much discussed. The new laws with reference to Hottentots and the agitation of slave emancipation were merely occasionally talked of and commented on, but a species of anti-English feeling was evidently on the increase. "Everything is becoming so English, that we, with our old Dutch habits, feel as if we are no longer in our own country," was every where heard, and many of the Boers openly declared their desire to know a little more of the interior of Africa; yet the English individually who had spread among the Dutch were generally far from being disliked. One subject which came before me on this my first tour of inspection as Commissioner-General it will be necessary to dwell upon particularly, as it is the first Kaffir question upon which I had to act authoritatively, and consequently upon my own responsibility, whereas, till then, my functions had always been subordinate either as Head of the Burger forces under superior Commanders, or in the execution of specific instructions from the Government. It is also a question which has derived some additional importance from the unmerciful manner in which I have been torn to pieces by Dr. Philip and his friends for my share in the matter, which either they could not or would not understand. I allude to the possession of the Kat River by the Kaffir Chief Macomo and his people.

I certainly never had more love for the savages and barbarians than for my own countrymen. I wished to

see justice done to all parties, and I believe that we are bound as Christians and civilized men, nay, as men of common honesty, to deal with the former politically, as you are compelled to deal with the French, the Dutch, or the Germans, and I do not only believe, but know by long experience, that almost always every argument to prove a nation or tribe incapable of comprehending and acting upon the simple principle of truth and justice is a mere pretext to justify the fraud and violence with which we apply our superior science and art to spoil the ignorant and weak of their property, and trample them down into bondage; but that is no reason why I should permit the aggressions and depredations on the part of the savages or barbarians, which not only outraged a community more immediately under my protection, but must ultimately lead to their own ruin and extermination. The Doctor and his friends were only deceived. They did not seem to be aware that, by espousing the cause of Macomo in this instance against the Government, they were breaking the neck of their chief argument against Lord Charles Somerset, in respect of his subverting all the measures of Sir Rufane Donkin for the protection of the frontier and of the settlers. They must have been ignorant of the fact that the Kat River was no longer either Kaffraria or neutral territory. That it was then as much part of the Colony as it is now. That by an understanding between Gaika and Sir Rufane Donkin it has become ceded territory, and that it was one of the most important elements in the frontier policy of the acting Governor to place a dense European population in that territory.

Whatever question there may be about the wisdom and justice of the "*treaty*" between Lord C. Somerset

and the Kaffir Chiefs in 1819, or of that between Sir Rufane Donkin and Gaika in 1820, the fact is undeniable that the Kat River had not only been set apart, but had actually been surveyed, for a party of Highlanders, who were then (in 1820 when the survey was ordered and effected immediately after the said treaty) expected out under a Captain Grant. The diagrams as drawn up and paid for to the surveyors Leeb and Azerond must still be forthcoming. It was to upset this part of the Donkin system that Macomo was permitted to occupy the lands so surveyed.

Though Lord C. Somerset had himself insisted upon the Kaffirs giving up all right to them in 1819, though he had immediately afterwards maintained in opposition, to Colonel Bird and myself that our Government had the right to settle British settlers there, he on his return to the Colony declared Sir R. Donkin's proceedings illegal and unpolitic ; yet in 1825 he gave the land west of the Koonap to a number of Boers. I say Dr. Philip and his friends were ignorant of these particulars, but there have been less scrupulous scribblers, who in bad faith suppressed what they knew to be true in order to trace, if possible, the D'Urban war to the expulsion of Makomo from the Kat River, and thus to draw the public mind from the real avowed cause, viz, the atrocities perpetrated under the name of the Patrol or Reprisal system, which had been in operation since 1817 ; which had become very popular, because very profitable ; which had been much improved on of late years ; and which had been played off even against Makomo himself whilst occupying this very Kat River under our special patronage.

The attempt to kidnap Gaika by surrounding his kraal at night with a military force in time of profound peace ; the plunder of seven thousand cattle from

Makomo's kraals, together with the indiscriminate slaughter of utterly defenceless men, women, and children by surprise at peep of day in time of peace ; a similar operation performed on Botma and his kraals, again rehearsed on Eno's kraals when his son Langa was murdered ; the massacre of Makomo's three messengers ; that of Zeko, the wounding of Gaika's son Xoxo by one of the reprisal patrols, which in fact was the immediate burning match applied to accumulated combustibles, and some more such trifles, were ignored by the pious historians, in order to concentrate the odium exclusively on certain obnoxious missionaries, and on the Hottentot settlement which had been substituted in lieu of the expelled Kaffirs, as the Highlanders were no longer expected, and which had already begun to be obnoxious because they had begun to prosper.

Well then, on this land so surveyed for the Highlanders I found Macomo located in 1828. The Civil Commissioner, who was by no means in harmony with the military commandant, insisted on the immediate expulsion of the Kaffirs, but as Colonel Somerset admitted that he, with the Governor's approval, allowed the occupation *during good behaviour*, I decided that this pledge should not be broken on our part. I sent for Makomo. He came, and showed that he clearly understood his position. He complained of the several wrongs which he had suffered, but added that he was determined to afford the Colony no just cause to molest him. The Government approved my decision ; General Bourke in the meantime departed with his highly-respected amiable family, and I am proud to say he evinced towards me the kindest feeling then, strongly shown again when I subsequently met him in London, and continued to the last, as a letter dated not long before his death proves.



There are, in fact, two letters of General Bourke's, one dated 1839, the other 1851, evincing this kindly feeling, from which the following extracts must suffice:—

“I assure you I shall at all times rejoice in hearing of your success, and I trust you are returning satisfactorily to the Cape, and that the Eastern province will prosper under your care. I shall be glad to hear from you when you have time to give me a line,” &c.

The next quotation is from a note dated,

“Thornfield, Limerick,

“August, 19, 1851.

“DEAR SIR ANDRIES,—Will you allow an old Cape friend to renew an intercourse now so long suspended, and to offer his congratulations on your safe arrival in England where he had last the pleasure of seeing you in 1838. Possibly circumstances may permit my visiting London before I return to the Cape, when I will make it my business to find you out. I can hardly hope for your presence in this unfortunate land, but should you be tempted to come amongst us either to spy our social nakedness, or to look at our lakes and other natural beauties of our land, I hope you will remember you have a friend near Limerick.”

I have been thus particular in pointing out the terms on which I lived and parted with those with whom my public duties brought me into contact, because it has been attempted to represent me (though this came from a quarter which would be best as usual answered by contempt) as having quarrelled with everybody I ever had anything to do with, and I was told that a well-known veracious newspaper once contained a column of names of parties with whom I was stated to have been in collision, whereas it must have been observed by these

notes, the truth whereof can stand the test of scrutiny, that up to this period (1828) when I had been twenty years in official life, under the most various and complicated circumstances, both as a soldier and a civilian, I had lived on the best of terms with all those who surrounded me, excepting a miserable combination to ruin my brother and myself, which I had to put down as a matter of course, and which drew an otherwise well-disposed Governor into its vortex. I should indeed like to see the friends whom I have been fortunate enough to make during a public career of half a century, weighed in the scales of moral worth, respectability of character, and capacity of intellect, against those whom hatred, envy, and malice, or whose avarice or bridled cruelty have made my slanderers and persecutors.

This must not be understood to apply to political opponents, among whom there are men for whom I entertain the most profound respect, and who never to my knowledge wallowed in low personalities and falsehood, however strongly their dissent may have been expressed. Sir Lowry Cole had succeeded General Bourke, and Colonel Bell had taken the office of Colonial Secretary after Sir Richard Plasket. Two more honourable upright men than Cole and Bell never set foot in South Africa or anywhere else. Their ladies, two sisters of the noble house of Malmesbury, would indeed be a blessing at the head of any society, and that of the Cape valued them as they deserved. To have co-operated with these men for the good of the land of my birth and of my countrymen, would have constituted my pride and my glory. I firmly believe that, as they assured me and others repeatedly, personally they felt warmly disposed in my favour, and I even can boast of several proofs of friendship on their part, as will be seen by our private

correspondence, which I never look into without being acutely pained by the reflection that such cordiality should have terminated with even the slightest degree of coolness. But in spite of their patriotic and benevolent efforts to benefit the community entrusted to their charge, their honesty was no match for a certain counter-acting force. Their means of resistance was not strong enough to stem a Horse Guards under-current, which was rapidly carrying the Colonial Frontier into a chain of sanguinary wars which were to cost the mother country some millions of money, and utterly to demoralize a great proportion of civilized and barbarian South Africa, but would popularize themselves by bringing enormous fortunes to some dozens of speculators, and overwhelm head-quarters with patronage.

That a Commissioner-Generalship held by a mere half-pay Captain—a mere Cape Dutchman, in fact, with political power over an army commanded by a noble Lieutenant-Colonel of pure English blood, clad, moreover, with the high-sounding though empty title of “Commandant of Kaffraria”—should appear anomalous to a General and Colonel, was what might naturally be expected, and when it is borne in mind that these latter authorities were in their military capacity subordinate to and greatly dependent upon the all-powerful uncle and patron of the said Commandant of Kaffraria, all surprise will cease that the Commissioner-Generalship soon became a stumbling-block—a machine that would not work. More of this hereafter.

I must return to Makomo and the Kat River. Hardly had I turned my back on the Frontier, after all my strong admonitions and kind advice, when this Chief, located as he was *in the Colony*, went with a Kaffir force *from the Colony* and attacked a tribe of Tambookies,

who had long lived on our borders near the Tarka *in peace and alliance with us*. Not being a match for the Kaffirs, many of them took refuge *among the Colonists*, but were pursued and massacred on the very *homesteads of the Boers*, so that the whole district was in consternation. The Governor, having received a report of this outrage, brought the matter before Council, and asked me as a member, and as Commissioner-General, "What do you think of our friend Makomo?" My answer was, "I say what I have always said, that strict justice is the only safe measure with which you can rule nations, civilized or barbarous. I refused to drive these Kaffirs from the Kat River, because I did not wish to have a Governor's word broken ; but as the savage has broken his part of the contract, which was that he should live at peace, I am quite prepared to let him suffer the penalty and to expel him, if you sanction it." This sanction was soon given, and in a few days I was on board a nutshell, called the *Albatross*, Captain Sinclair, on my way to Algoa Bay.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1828-1829.

State of Frontier at this time, 1828—Important Despatches—Expulsion of Makomo.

THE position of affairs on the Frontier shortly before this expedition will be found in the following despatch from the Commissioner-General to Government, dated 22nd November, 1828, and as the whole history is fully set forth in the public despatches of the Commissioner-General, these are here quoted, commencing with his most valuable minute to the Governor, dated 6th February, 1829, in which he gives in detail his reasons for advising the expulsion of Macomo.

Then follows a despatch, dated 30th April, detailing his interview with the Kaffir chiefs before proceeding against Macomo ; and in the following despatch, dated 5th May, 1829, will be found the full report of the operations against that Chief.

“Capetown,

“November 22, 1828.

“SIR,—Having had the honour in my letter from Graaff Reinets, dated 22nd ult., to report on the third point of my special instructions issued from your office on the 27th September last, and having this morning returned to this place, I lose no time in communicating to Government the result of my inquiries as to the other two articles of said instructions.

“I left Graaff Reinets on the 23rd ult., and proceeded direct to the Kaga, where the late Civil Commissioner, Major Dundas, had the goodness to meet me, as his

successor was absent on duty, and had not received the notice of my proceedings.

“From Major Dundas I procured a return of cattle stolen, as per annexed copy, together with such information as confirmed the report that the Kaffirs were not only scattered and wandering all over the ceded territory, but that several kraals were actually permanently established in the same. Those circumstances, added to that of the two soldiers of the 55th Regiment having been murdered very recently, made me determined on seeing as many of the chiefs as could be collected.

“The Commandant of the Frontier having been made acquainted with my intentions, kindly volunteered to accompany me along the Frontier, and afforded me every facility in his power. I met this officer at the Gonappe Post on the 31st ult., and found there assembled several farmers complaining of the incessant depredations of the Kaffirs, stating that small parties and individuals of that nation were roving undisturbed over the country, availing themselves of every opportunity to plunder; Lieut.-Colonel Somerset himself being fully impressed with the hardships to which the complainants were subjected by these harassing aggressions.

“The Kaffir Chief Makomo being present at said post, I induced him to proceed to Fort Willshire, where I appointed Gaika and his Captains to meet me, and where I found him, Enno and Makomo on the 2nd inst., after having visited the residence of the Government agent, Mr. Thompson, at the Choomie, on which I shall have to make a separate communication.

“The Chief Botman sent one of his principal Councillors with a message that a severe illness prevented his personal appearance.

“Previous to giving an account of my conference with

said Chiefs, I have to state that in passing through the valley of the Basookas (which, if the understanding between His Excellency Lord C. Somerset, and afterwards between His Excellency Sir R. Donkin and Gaika, is to remain valid and to be acted upon, is decidedly within the ceded territory) I found it thickly occupied by permanent Kaffir establishments, in which Botma and his followers had located themselves. Makomo and his people occupy the higher parts of the Gonappe and Cat Rivers. All this territory, I must mention, was ceded as well as the Barooka, but on reference to a correspondence between myself as Landdrost of Graaff Reinet and your department in 1822 or 1823, you will find that the Governor at that time sanctioned its conditional occupation by the Kaffirs. It is not for me now to observe on the policy of the measure at the time it took place; but it comes within the scope of my duty to point out that great inconvenience is now experienced therefrom, for it appears to me perfectly clear that towards the tranquillity of the Frontier on the Kaffir side, and for the prevention of severe measures and bloodshed ultimately, the total expulsion of the Kaffir hordes from the whole of the ceded territory will not only be necessary, but also the occupation of the said territory by His Majesty's subjects, as densely as its nature will admit, absolutely indispensable.

"As matters now stand, no farmer can be for one moment safe or sure of his property, unless the Kaffirs be kept in awe by the knowledge that the colonists are at liberty to pursue and shoot robbers on all occasions. This is a latitude which it is dangerous to Government to grant to the sufferers without such powerful checks as must neutralize their efforts. The Kaffirs soon perceive this, and proceed in their depredations to the most



daring lengths, so that Commandos have to be resorted to. On the other hand, if our extreme borders be closely inhabited, such Kaffirs as are driven into the Colony by want of subsistence in their own country (who may have heretofore had the excuse of being obliged to steal their food), admitted on the strength of the 49th Ordinance, and the law against vagrants contained in said Ordinance strictly enforced, I think few causes for severe extremities will be met with. The Kaffirs, as a nation, we have nothing to dread from. They are fully aware that even as to the possession of their country they are entirely dependent on the policy the Government may adopt; but their straggling parties will never cease to take the advantage which our open Frontier offers, and though Lieut.-Colonel Somerset entertains a good opinion of the disposition of Makomo and Botama, I am by no means satisfied that all the above-mentioned Chiefs do not encourage the aggression of their followers, and participate in the spoil when they think they can do so without detection.

"I communicated to the Chiefs assembled at Fort Willshire the displeasure of Government at the intrusion and depredations of the Kaffirs, and particularly the late murders. I pointed out to them, how much they must suffer from a rupture of the existing good understanding with the Colony, and procured their assurance that they would exert themselves to the utmost to discover and punish the offenders and return the stolen property. They were convinced of the danger they ran by provoking the Colony to retaliation, but their promises have been too often repeated and broken, to be much relied on.

"The Government Agent, Mr. Thompson, having inti-

mated to me his belief that the Kaffir Chiefs looked with suspicion on the measures for the admission of Kaffirs into the Colony under the 49th Ordinance as intended to weaken their force, I explained to, and convinced the said Chiefs of the beneficial tendency of that law in their own favour. They, however, objected (and I fully agree with them) to colonists coming into Kaffirland to entice Kaffirs into the Colony.

"The Chiefs, Pato, Kama, and Kobus Conga, came to Graham's Town to see me. I repeated the communications to them, which I had made to those at Fort Willshire; but as Major Dundas and the Military Commandant both informed me, that the people under these men had of late been most peaceable and unoffending, I gave them the best assurances of good-will on the part of Government.

"The flocks of these Chiefs also graze in the ceded territory towards the coast which Lieut.-Colonel Somerset and Major Dundas told me had been sanctioned by His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies; with this circumstance therefore you will be better acquainted than I am.

"In concluding this report on the Eastern Frontier, where, notwithstanding the vexation of petty depredations, all danger of general hostility is out of the question, I must recall your attention to my said letter of the 22nd ult., relative to the Northern Borders; and though, as I have stated, no rupture with the Chiefs of the parties there is likely soon to take place, yet the state of the country, and the nature of the people there, is such that (considering the want of military protection and the impossibility of guarding so exclusive and open a frontier, by a regular line of posts) I hope His Excellency the Governor will be able, before I return to the

interior, to make up his mind to some efficient system of defence.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“A STOCKENSTROM.

“Honourable Lieut.-Colonel Bell,

“Acting Secretary to Government.”

“Capetown, February 6, 1829.

“SIR,—Your Excellency having expressed a wish that I should state in writing the opinion I had the honour of expressing at a meeting of the members of Council this morning, on the subject of the reports received from the Commandant of the Frontier respecting the attack made by the Kaffir Chief Makoma on the Tambookies, and the continued depredations of the Kaffirs on the property of the inhabitants, as also relative to certain Commando of Burgers who had pursued and killed a party of marauding Bosjesmen, as reported by the Civil Commissioner of Graaff Reinet, I beg leave to confine myself in the first place to the question as to Makoma's conduct, and the line of policy I should recommend to be adopted with regard to him and his people.

“On reference to a correspondence between the Colonial Office and myself as Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, in the year 1823, your Excellency will find that, notwithstanding the successive treaties between Gaika and their Excellencies Lord C. Somerset and Sir R. Donkin, a number of Kaffir kraals under the said Makoma, by some error or misunderstanding, had been allowed to come back and establish themselves in that part of the ceded territory about the sources of the Kat and Gonappe Rivers, which they at present occupy, and have ever since occupied ; that when I proved the said occupation

to be contrary to the said treaties, his Excellency the then Governor, Lord C. Somerset, attached his sanction thereto, providing, however, that the intruders should be removed therefrom as soon as they should disturb the frontier by any depredations. The impolicy of this connivance at the breach of the treaties I have before had occasion to bring to the notice of Government, and it has long since become evident ; but without troubling your Excellency with a recapitulation of the many acts of aggression by which Makoma and his followers have provoked the execution of the threat which accompanied the Governor's act of indulgence, it appears to me that the late outrages committed by him upon the Tambookies call for the most peremptory exemplary measures on the part of Government, in order to maintain its dignity and respect among the native neighbouring tribes.

“ Makoma is aware that the Tambookies were always on the best of terms with the Colony ; that they had always behaved in the most peaceable friendly manner towards our frontier inhabitants, and that the Colonial Government had determined to support them against the late threatened invasions as much as the Kaffirs themselves. The unprovoked attack on their peaceable hordes was consequently, under any circumstances, an insult upon the avowed protectors of the sufferers ; but, following the latter into the Colony, where they had taken shelter, and there murdering and plundering them in the midst, and to the great alarm of our own people, as detailed in the Commandant's report, and confirmed in that of the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, is an aggravation which I think can be expiated by nothing short of full compensation to the injured Tambookies, to be resolutely enforced by the Colonial

Government, and the revocation of the order which conditionally permitted the occupation of part of the ceded territory by the aggressors. I would, however, still recommend so much lenity being shown as to enable the Kaffirs to reap what may now be growing on the soil to be vacated by them; but, as firmness in the execution of what is once determined on is the best means to prevent the necessity of more desperate remedies, I would propose that after a certain time, of which Makoma should be warned, a force (supported by Burgers, if necessary) be marched into the country from which the expulsion is to take place;—that there an eligible position for a permanent military post be taken up; such post forthwith established to show the Kaffirs at once that Government is in earnest; and the intruders, in case they do not take warning and migrate without loss of time, driven out by force of arms, which would best be commenced by driving their cattle across the frontier and destroying their huts.

“It would of course be necessary to be well prepared against acts of vengeance on the part of Makoma, his family, and their followers; but the impression of the power of the Colonial force I am confident to be such among the Kaffirs just now, that a mere hint as to the possibility of the border being fixed still further eastward in case of continued provocation, would be sufficient to keep the natives in check, particularly if they see by the punishment of Makoma, as above proposed, that the forbearance of the Colonists can be exhausted. Lieut-Colonel Somerset is aware what effect such a threat had on the mind of the chiefs in my late conference with them, and he will be able to judge in how far it expedited the speedy delivery into his hands of the murderers just executed.

“The other Kaffir chiefs, particularly those of Pato’s, Kama’s, Conga’s, and Duchany’s parties, who have behaved so peaceably of late years, should be made clearly to understand that this rupture with Makoma will not alter the disposition of the Colony towards themselves, and the Tambookies should be told of the interest taken in their cause, which, by securing a counterpoise even to Gaika’s power, if he should be inclined to be troublesome, will, if necessary, make a salutary diversion in our favour.

“Now to come to the subject of the depredations of the Kaffirs generally, and the pursuit of plunderers and murderers from among their tribe, I beg leave to observe that I consider it so closely connected with that of the inroads on every side of our frontier, that we may, in treating the same, at once embrace the question resulting from the report of the Civil Commissioner of Graaff Reinet.

“I must take the liberty to repeat what can be found in some of my earlier communications, that the great mistake committed in our policy of frontier defence consisted in the sudden transition from measures of too great severity, and sometimes wanton cruelty, to the opposite extreme of sacrificing the safety of His Majesty’s subjects on the borders by paralyzing their efforts, even in defence of their lives and their property; and the vigour with which this system of supposed conciliation was enforced, generated the idea which caused so much discontent, clamour, and confusion, that it was criminal to resist any attack made by savages.

“In the present state of the most civilized of the tribes bordering on our frontiers, inroads from among them, and consequently from among the rest, must be expected, and whenever the Chiefs can, without fear of

detection, participate in the plunder, they will do so and encourage it. The practice (which Colonel Somerset thinks new) of stealing hundreds of cattle, and the very thieves themselves returning them, under pretence of having recovered these from others, is a trick played off upon the Colony by the Kaffirs as long as they have been known; the only way, therefore, of dealing with such people is to pursue them on the spoor immediately after they have committed a crime:—If they be overtaken in the act of carrying off plunder, or after having been guilty of murder or other heinous outrage, and resist, either in order to keep possession of the booty or to avoid being taken, they must, of course, be fired upon; but the mere attempt to escape (except when seen in the actual perpetration of the crime) should not justify such firing; and should any party cross the boundary in pursuit of the marauders without being headed either by a military officer or field-commandant, field-cornet or provisional field-cornet, a sufficient number of which, where trustworthy persons can be found, should be appointed at reasonable distances along the whole line of the frontier, such head of a pursuing party being held responsible that no innocent person be in any way molested, and that no human blood be unnecessarily spilt. To this point I must beg leave to call your Excellency's particular attention. I should be the last person to exaggerate in the eyes of Government the unfriendly feeling of the Colonists towards the native tribes. I am aware that the ferociousness with which that feeling was given vent to, has, in a great measure, given way to the dictates of that humanity which proceeds hand in hand with the moral improvement of our remote brethren; and I know numbers whose dispositions in regard to those natives does them honour;



but, that a most powerful check upon the parties pursuing marauders is absolutely necessary, is equally true. As, however, this is a subject now before Council, where I shall feel it my duty to bring my views under your Excellency's notice, I shall not here take up more of your time, but only urge the adoption of the utmost caution in the selection of the persons who must unavoidably be entrusted with a great deal of discretionary power on the said expeditions, and the framing of such regulations for their guidance as will make them look with awe towards the discovery of any act of unnecessary bloodshed or cruelty on their part.

"The basis to be laid down in legislating on this subject is, that, if on the one hand, the savages be allowed with impunity to drive off the cattle of the farmers, they will soon add murders and fire to their thefts, as has repeatedly been proved, and the vicinity of the frontier becomes uninhabitable ; and, on the other hand, if the Colonists are on every trifling provocation to be permitted to pursue and (as they would call it) punish the offenders, the old system of terror and extermination will be revived with full force.

"To hit upon a proper medium, regulated by a humane consideration of the wretched condition of the savages, without losing sight of the right of the Colonists to the protection of Government, will be the difficult but not hopeless task which your Excellency will have to perform.

"In concluding, I must observe that I do not mean to predict the total cessation of petty depredations on the part of the Kaffirs as the immediate consequence of the removal of the kraals out of the ceded territory. That entire tranquillity will be found (whatever may be said to the contrary) ultimately to be the result of the dense

population of that territory in the manner proposed in my letters to the Secretary to Government, dated 22nd November and 13th December last, and the gradual improvement of the aborigines, which the provisions of the 49th and 50th Ordinances (I mean their leading principles) will assuredly bring about.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“A. STOCKENSTROM.

“To His Excellency the Hon. Sir G. L. Cole, G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c.”

“Gonappe Post, April 30, 1829.

“SIR,—Referring to my communications of the 24th instant, I have the honour to acquaint you that I reached Wesleyville in the morning of the 27th. Mount Coke (a missionary station on a branch of the Buffaloes River and the residence of the Kaffir Chief Kai) in the evening of the same day, Gaika's Kraal on the upper part of the Keyskama, in the afternoon of the 28th, the Reverend Mr. Thomson's establishment in the Choomie, that evening, Fort Beaufort last night (visiting Botma's Kraal on the way), and this place this morning.

“The Kaffir Chiefs Kai, Pato, Kama, and Conga, having met me at Wesleyville, I made them fully understand the sentiments and views of His Excellency the Governor as contained in your communications of the 8th and 9th instant, impressing upon their minds the benefits which they must derive from an adhesion to the present terms they are on with the Colony. They expressed their thanks, and from what I can learn from the missionaries, Messrs. Shaw and Young, as also from what I have been able to observe in their conduct, I believe them to be sincere. I spoke to them of the conduct of individuals

of their tribes, as represented to me by the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, but assured them that this would not affect the sentiments of Government as to their people generally ; that they (the chiefs) were not suspected of conniving at it, and that it was merely referred to in order to stimulate their zeal in repressing the transgressions complained of. They very justly observed, that among so many there must naturally be evil disposed men ; but promised to punish all cases of aggression that should come to their knowledge, and gave some instances of their having done so. Pato, Kama, and Congo, urged me strongly to request of Government the permanent cession, in their favour, of the tract of country they are allowed to occupy in the ceded territory, and pleaded former promises (with which I am unacquainted), the peaceable conduct of their tribe, and their having too little land beyond the Keyskama.

“Mr. Shaw informed me that they had lately (under some idea that they would be made to leave said territory) sent a deputation to Hinza begging to be received under his protection, and received for an answer that they might come and reside near him, and be safe from Gaika's ambition. I told them that on this head I was not authorised to make any promise, but assured them that I was not aware of any intention of withdrawing the indulgence they have hitherto enjoyed. Their migration into Hinza's territory would deprive us of peaceable neighbours, greatly retard their own improvement, and most likely make room for some marauding kraals to settle in.

“With reference to your confidential letter of the 9th instant, they expressed their gratitude in the strongest terms for His Excellency's friendly feelings, and Kai

alluding to the part he would take in case of an attack by Gaika on Pato, and his followers said, 'We are children of one Father,' meaning the Slambie and Conga tribes. The four chiefs, above mentioned, appeared very cordial together, and the missionaries represent the bond of union as very strong, and Kai by no means in awe of Gaika and his party. A few days ago a quarrel took place between some of the people of these two captains and two lives were lost. Kai's power and influence are stated to be very great, though he is only Regent during the minority of the acknowledged Chief Fundees, son of Duchana.

"To Gaika I complained of the conduct of his son Makoma, informed him of the determination of Government in regard to the latter, made him clearly understand what is directed to be conveyed to him in your said letters, and received also his thanks for the friendly feelings of His Excellency. I must, however, state that I place no confidence in this man's professions; he harasses and plunders his own people systematically, and thereby drives them to commit depredations on the Colony, and invariably shares in the booty, when he can without fear of detection. Several Kaffirs complain of his conduct, and many have lately deserted him and submitted to other chiefs. He is at present on bad terms with Makoma, but there is no doubt of a great part of the cattle taken by the latter from the Tambookies being among his kraals and those of his dependents, Botman and Enno. I warned him of the danger he would incur by not causing them to be given up. He seemed fully sensible of this, and promised to have them searched after; but nothing but terror can bring him to an act of justice.

"Botman and Enno I could not find, though they were

appointed to meet me at the kraal of the former, whose son told me that they had gone in pursuit of cattle stolen from the Colony.

I, however, told Botman's son, and one of his principal men (the Chief Bangella) what I had to communicate ; but I must state a circumstance which I cannot approve of. They have both, with their followers, taken up permanent residence within the ceded territory. Enno is a desperate plunderer, and is now known to harbour great part of the Tambookie cattle, and Botman is an old, imbecile man, entirely at the mercy of, and dependant on, Gaika. By means of the kraals of these two chiefs, plunderers of all parties have easy access to, and uninterrupted retreat from the Colony.

"The Commandant of Kaffraria informs me that he has ordered these kraals to withdraw.

"I visited the Choomie with a view to give the Rev. Mr. Thompson warning of the measures in progress, and wrote to the missionary Ross as per subjoined copy. Mr. Thompson informed me that he, at any rate, intended to leave the establishment soon, and that the present measures would only expedite his departure, as he considers himself particularly obnoxious to the Kaffirs.

"From Mr. Ross I have had no reply.

"Reserving my more particular observations on the present state of the frontier to separate communications,

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"A. STOCKENSTROM.

"The Honourable the Chief Secretary to Government."

"Choomie, April 29, 1829. -

"SIR,—Considering the situation in which you are placed, I think it my duty to acquaint you that hostile

measures are immediately to be resorted to against the Kaffir Chief Makoma, unless he can be brought to comply with the requisition of the Colonial Government by other means.

"In case you should conceive any steps necessary for your personal safety, I shall be happy to hear from you at the Gonappe Post to-morrow morning.

"If you do not consider it inconsistent with the nature of your avocations, I should feel obliged by your impressing on Makoma the necessity of his preventing the alternative he is driving the Government to, and by informing him that he may still see me at said Post to-morrow, where he may come with perfect safety.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM.

"Mr. Ross, Missionary, Balfour."

"Kat River, May 5, 1829.

"SIR,—The Commando against the Kaffir Chief Makoma marched on the 1st instant, one division from this, and another from the Gonappa Post. I accompanied the latter.

"As the military operations will be detailed by the Commandant of Kaffraria, and that officer having been specially charged with the distribution of the captured cattle, I shall, with respect to these points, confine myself to stating that (as was anticipated) the force brought into the field was abundantly sufficient to prevent all attempt at resistance on the part of the Kaffirs, beyond driving the cattle into the Kloofs and throwing two or three assagaays at the men sent into the thickets to drive them out.

“When our party, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset in person, reached the kraals of Makoma on the 2nd, we found these all abandoned. On reaching the missionary establishment under the superintendence of the missionary Ross, about a mile distant from said kraal, we learnt that the mass of the Kaffirs, with their cattle, had fled to Kaffirland ; but that Makoma was still lurking in the forests in the neighbourhood with a small party. I thought it desirable to have an interview with him, in order to procure, if possible, the objects of His Excellency the Governor without any effusion of blood, and, with some difficulty, I got him to meet me, when the following conference took place, which I give as the best means of bringing before His Excellency the sentiments mutually expressed.

“When Makoma approached me I shook hands with him and said, ‘I had hoped that we would always have met as friends, and am sorry it is otherwise. You know your father gave up this country to the Colony after the last great Commando. You were, however, allowed to reside in it on condition that you would not disturb the Colonists. Notwithstanding your repeated promises, your people have constantly committed depredations, and have been therein encouraged by you. The Governor used every forbearance until at last you attacked the Tambookies, who have always been at peace with the Colony, plundered them, so that many of them are without food and forced to live by plundering the Colony also, and you did not even hesitate to follow them into the Colonial territory and there to murder some of them, and carry off their property to the great alarm of the Colonists. The Governor has therefore called upon you, through the Commandant Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, to restore the cattle you have taken from the Tambookies,



and to abandon this country, and as you have not complied this Commando is sent. We have no war with the Kaffir nation. I have told all the other chiefs that they need not be alarmed, as the Governor will maintain the friendly understanding existing with them. If you give up the Tambookie cattle and quit this territory with your people we shall renew our former relations. Until that be done you must consider yourself an enemy. The Commando will scour the country you and your people occupy; they will collect whatever cattle they find therein; they will destroy the huts but no gardens. You may leave your women to reap and carry after you what is still in the field, they will be protected, not a single shot will be fired on a Kaffir-man, woman, or child unless your people resist, throw assagaays or approach the camp at night, or with a view to attack. I advise you to prevent the effusion of blood and comply quietly.'

"MAKOMA.—'I have committed no offence against the Colony. I prevented and punished plundering as much as I could. I attacked the Tambookies because they had stolen from the Colony. Their own Chief Pawana called me to do so.'

"COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.—'Pawana denies this. Moreover, his instigation cannot justify your marching a force into the Colony, and there murdering and plundering your enemies. I am sorry to say there are too many proofs of your not checking but encouraging theft. This morning two head of cattle were found in your own kraal which were stolen from the Colony within this last month.'

"MAKOMA.—'The people plunder and you hold the Chiefs responsible for everything. I hope you will intercede with the Governor to let me live here, and I

will give all the Tambookie cattle I can still find ; but I believe I have sent all I had to Fort Beaufort.'

" COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.—' The Governor has decided. His orders are positive. You must leave this country, and give up cattle to the amount of three thousand head. Not one-tenth of the number you took from the Tambookies have you sent to Fort Beaufort.'

" MAKOMA.—' What do you advise me to do ? I have no more of the Tambookie cattle.'

" COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.—' I know you have them not here ; you have distributed them all over Kaffir land ; but we are not going to war with all the Kaffir chiefs, because you sent the cattle into their country. You took them and from you we ask them, and, as you ask my advice, do this :—Call back your own cattle which you have sent away, deliver them up to Colonel Somerset to be added to those the Commando will collect, and leave them as a pledge till you can bring to us the Tambookie cattle. I know you have only to order it, and the Kaffirs will return what you have distributed among them.'

" MAKOMA.—' That is impossible ; but I will give you all my own cattle. In the meantime let the Commando remain inactive.'

" COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.—' That cannot be, for the Kaffirs are driving off the cattle as fast as they can. The Commando will continue to collect cattle, and thereby assist you if you are sincere. Order your people not to resist and to begin leaving the country and they will not be hurt, and when we have three thousand head of cattle for the Tambookies and you are all across the frontier, we will renew our friendship on the heights between the Choomie and the Kat River.'

"These terms Makoma solemnly engaged to comply with, and we parted shaking hands, though I put no faith in his promises. Much more conversation passed between us, in which I exerted myself to show him the consequences of his obstinacy if persisted in, and in which he spoke very sensibly, but the substance of what passed you have above.

"In the afternoon it was seen that the Kaffirs still persisted in driving the cattle into the deepest parts of the forests, where they were followed by the Commando and dispossessed of as much cattle as could possibly be got at. There it was, that assagaays were thrown at our people, and these firing in their own defence, it was reported that one Kaffir was killed and two wounded. During the night one or more crept in among the captured cattle, killed six, and wounded several. Three horses which got loose and strayed out of the camp were also killed.

"On the morning of the 3rd Makoma sent me a message to say that the cattle taken by this Division of the Commando, and that which fell into the hands of the other Division, were all he had, so that he could give up no more. I sent for answer that the conduct of his people, in throwing assagaays at the Commando, and killing the horses, showed their determination to force us to extremities, so that the Commandant would have no alternative but to destroy their huts and drive out by force those Kaffirs which were still lurking in that part of the ceded territory; that the cattle which had been taken would be given to the Tambookies, and the number still deficient required from him. The messenger returned, stating that Makoma sent no answer, but vowed vengeance against Gaika and his subordinate Chiefs, and particularly against the interpreter Hermanus, by whose

intrigues. he alleges himself to have been misrepresented to the Government.

"The burning of the huts was forthwith commenced to show the Kaffirs that there was no hope of their being allowed to remain, and I proceeded to point out to the Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, the true boundary as established in 1819, and laid down in your letter addressed to me on the 8th ultimo, in order that the Commando might be certain how far the country was to be cleared of Kaffirs.

"On the 4th, I accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset to Fort Beaufort, where he caused the captured cattle to be delivered over to the Tambookies with the exception of some which were reported to belong to the Kaffir Chief Botman, which he ordered to be kept until Botman should be heard.

"The Tambookies begged of me to thank His Excellency the Governor for the protection granted them, but seemed terrified that they would soon again be deprived of the cattle now given them; insisting in the most positive manner that Pawana had been leagued with Makoma in the attack upon them.

"They after some consultation made up their minds to return to Voessanie, whom they called their 'Great Chief,' and who they say can and will protect them.

"An armed party has been sent to escort them up a branch of the Gonappe into the Tarka, where they may be considered out of the reach of the Kaffirs, and whither I will follow as soon as Colonel Somerset considers his orders so far executed as to enable him to dismiss the Commando.

"This morning the patrols being ordered in various directions, I proceeded with a view to see the Chief Botman, to convey through him renewed instructions to

the others of his party, to check the depredations with which their people have for a length of time harassed the Colony. I must here observe that (besides Botman and Enno with their followers) the Kaffirs of Chalé (Gaika's son) are also permanently established in the Colony. With all these kraals it was, of course, not the business of the present Commando to embroil itself; firstly, because the punishment of Makoma alone was its object, and friendly enunciations were ordered to be made to the other chiefs; and, secondly, because it would be bad policy to quarrel with too many of these troublesome neighbours at a time, in the present state of the Frontier with the long winter nights at hand.

"I found Botman at Fort Beaufort claiming the cattle above alluded to, and which I have no doubt will be given up to him. I took as much trouble with him as I did with all the other chiefs, pointing to the example of Makoma.

"He said that the chiefs foresaw what would be the end of all the depredations complained of, and were doing their best to prevent them, but that their people could not be prevented stealing cattle. I told him that the Commando would not act either against him, Enno, or Chalé, but that they must not expect to be allowed to remain within the ceded territory; and that if their people continued plundering they would share the same fate with Makoma.

"Having thus far laid before His Excellency the steps hitherto taken in prosecution of his orders of the 8th ult., there only remains for me, at present, to refer to my former communications, as I think that without some of the precautions there suggested the present winter will be severely felt, and, however unpopular it may be, duty and truth compel me to assert that the plundering of the

Kaffirs is greatly facilitated by the carelessness of our own people, confirmed by the existing system of recapture, or more properly 'retaliation.' If a farmer chooses to let his cattle out at night, or to leave them without proper guard in the day-time, he can often not know when and by whom they are stolen. In such cases a patrol follows them up on what the loser calls the 'spoor,' into some Kaffir kraal, where, if even one of the cattle claimed by the same loser be found, the number declared by this interested person to have been lost is taken from that kraal. It is not impossible that the real plunderer drove the stolen cattle through and left one behind in this kraal on purpose to prevent himself being pursued farther, or that one or more may have there knocked up. The innocent Kaffir is thus robbed of his only means of subsistence, and must starve or come into the Colony to plunder the first flock he meets with. Nor can we say that there may not be people so depraved as under the above circumstances to claim a greater number than they have lost, or to leave their bad cattle exposed in order to get better back (I am sorry to say I argue from experience), therefore I am humbly of opinion that no cattle should be followed up if the robbery be not known at the time it happens, and then it should be done immediately. If this be at night, out of the kraals, the pursuit should commence at furthest at day break next morning. If the same cattle be not overtaken, it is a proof of neglect, except in peculiar cases, and no Kaffir cattle should be taken in lieu, or if in any particular case this alternative should be unavoidable, the cattle should not be delivered to the claimant, but to the Civil Commissioner, who should enquire as to the number actually lost, and the guilt of the kraal thus taxed.

"I am aware that this mode of reasoning will not be relished by some farmers who may have unfortunately become too fond of 'patrolling' and consider it a pastime; but I see nothing in the Kaffir that makes me despair of these exploits (equally injurious to the improvement of both parties), being rendered much less necessary by due vigilance and caution on the part of the farmers, and a firm but humane policy with regard to the savages.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"A. STOCKENSTROM.

"P.S.—The report of one Kaffir being killed and two wounded is confirmed; one of the latter died next day.

"The Honourable, the Chief Secretary to Government."



## CHAPTER XV.

1828-1829.

Instructions to Commissioner-General—Recapitulation of Early Border History—Commissioner-General's Plan of Defence of Frontier—Memorandum on Frontier Policy—Reprisal System—Full details of—Consequences of.

As the Commissioner-Generalship was one of the most important offices held by Sir A. Stockenstrom, and as the events of that period are of such interest as to form an indelible page of Colonial History, the record of which is given by Sir Andries himself in his evidence before the Committees of the House of Commons, to which he himself constantly refers in his autobiographical notes, some extracts from that evidence must be here presented to the reader.

The instructions to the Commissioner-General seem to have been under consideration for nearly a year before they were finally issued. They were as follows:—

“The duties of this Office are comprised under two distinct heads:—

“I. Those duties of the Commissioner-General, which relate to the affairs of the border and the tribes beyond it.

“(1.) The Commissioner-General will exercise a special superintendence over the affairs of the border in its whole extent (excepting such as are of a purely military character, as hereinafter adverted to), and will for this purpose be put in communication with all the Government agents residing with the Frontier tribes with

whom he can hold a direct correspondence from Uitenhagen. Those agents or missionaries towards the western line of Frontier, whose readiest communication is with Cape Town, will continue to correspond with the Secretary to Government, who will make such communications to the Commissioner-General on the subjects of such correspondence as may be necessary ; such agents as may be enabled to maintain a direct communication with the Commissioner-General will be required to report to him on all proper occasions, and to follow such directions as they may receive from him. They will not, however, cease to communicate with the Secretary to Government, who will make such communications to the Commissioner-General on the subjects of such correspondence as may be necessary ; such agents as may be enabled to maintain a direct communication with the Commissioner-General will be required to report to him on all proper occasions, and to follow such directions as they may receive from him. They will not, however, cease to communicate with the Secretary to Government, as it may happen, during the absence of the Commissioner-General from his fixed residence, that intelligence may reach Government more quickly by direct communication from them than through the Commissioner-General.

“(2.) By his residence at Uitenhagen the Commissioner-General will be able to maintain a tolerably direct and speedy communication with the agents beyond the Graaff Reinet, Somerset, and Albany Frontiers, particularly with those in Kaffirland, which portion of the Frontier is for the present of greater importance than any other. In the course of his annual tour, as hereinafter directed, he will have opportunities of inquiring minutely into the state of the western border. In cases

of emergency, the agents will, as already directed, communicate with the military posts nearest to their stations, and with the Civil Commissioner of the nearest district.

“(3.) The Commissioner-General will report without the least delay to the Secretary to Government whatever intelligence he may from time to time receive from the Government agents, and what directions he may have given them, together with such elucidations and observations on his part as the subject may require. He will also suggest, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, such arrangement of the military force on the Frontier as his knowledge of the disposition, strength, or designs of the border tribes, and of the views of the Colonial Government with regard to them, may seem to render expedient.

“(4.) He will endeavour to keep up a personal acquaintance with the principal chiefs along the Frontier line. The great extent of this line will indeed render frequent communication with them almost impossible ; but the Commissioner-General will endeavour to visit the whole line from sea to sea once in the course of each year, if the Governor, who will fix the period of its commencement, shall deem it necessary that so frequent an inspection should be made.

“(5.) To the Commissioner-General, or in particular cases to one of the Civil Commissioners, will be intrusted in future the delivery of all presents intended for the chiefs or other persons beyond the Frontier with whom it may be desirable to open or keep up a friendly intercourse ; this duty, and generally that of communicating with the native tribes, having been hitherto performed by the Military Commandant, that Officer will be apprised of its transfer to the Civil Department, and instructed at the same time to direct all officers in command of

detached posts to provide the Commissioner-General or Civil Commissioner, on demand, with an escort to accompany him to the residence of any Government agent or native chief whom he may have occasion to visit.

“(6.) All reports or applications on the subject of cattle, &c., stolen by the native tribes on the eastern Frontier are to be forwarded by the several Civil Commissioners to the Commissioner-General, who will give them such directions as he may judge necessary, with a view either to the recovery of the stolen property, or to the protection of the Colonists from further depredations.

“(7.) The troops will remain under the orders of the Commandant of the Frontier, and of the several officers in command of regiments or detachments. The Commissioner-General will consider it his duty to convey to the nearest officer in command any information he may receive, upon the knowledge of which measures may be taken for the security of the post, or detachment, for the recovery of cattle, or other property taken away by the Frontier tribes, and generally for the protection of the persons and property of the Colonists.

“The Commandant of the Frontier will in like manner communicate, or cause to be communicated to the Commissioner-General, any event or information of importance connected with border affairs that may come to the knowledge of himself or his officers in command of posts.

“(8.) The Commissioner-General will require the Civil Commissioners of the districts of Albany, Somerset, Graaff Reinet and Uitenhagen to furnish him with returns of the number, and state of the burgher force of their respective districts, and he will be careful that the lists be kept complete, the proper officers nominated, and all such regulations adopted and maintained as may

obtain for the public service the speedy assembly and efficient aid of that useful and respectable force whenever and wherever required.

“(9.) As a considerable portion of the Frontier of the Somerset district, and the whole of Graaff Reinet is without troops, regular or Colonial, the Commissioner-General is authorised to direct the assembly of the whole, or any part of the Burgher force of those districts, for the purpose of defence against any actual or threatened attack, and in the absence of a military officer may himself take the command of, and employ such force, or direct the Civil Commissioner, Field-Commandant, or Field-Cornet to do so, reporting the case to the Commandant of the Frontier, who will move a military force to the point menaced or attacked, or leave its defence to the Burgher force, as he shall think fit.

“(10.) The Commissioner-General may, when he shall think it necessary, or upon a written requisition from the Commandant of the Frontier, order the assembly of the whole or part of the Burgher force of the four districts hereinbefore mentioned, to be employed under the orders of the Commandant ; and if the Commissioner-General, or any Civil Commissioner shall think it proper to remain in the immediate command of the Burgher force, he shall obey any orders he may receive from the Commandant or the orders of any military officer who shall be present on the spot, and serving with the King's or Colonial troops. If the Commissioner-General, or Civil Commissioner, shall not think proper so to remain they will place the Burgher force under the Field-Commandants, or Field-Cornet, at the disposal of the military officer in command.

“(11.) In all cases where any Burgher force shall be called out, either at the requisition of the Commandant

of the Frontier, or by order of the Commissioner-General, the latter will make an immediate report to the Secretary to Government of the declared, or apparent motive for calling out such force, together with his opinion upon the nature and necessity of the case, and he will communicate whatever information he may possess, or be able to obtain respecting it.

“(12.) The Commissioner-General is further authorised to direct in any of the four districts herein before mentioned the assembly of such part of the Burgher force under any Burgher officer as may be required, to recover stolen cattle, apprehend offenders against the laws, or to patrol for the prevention of depredations. He may likewise authorise the Civil Commissioners of those districts to adopt the same measures at their discretion, if he shall think fit so to direct.

“(13.) The Commissioner-General will use his best exertion to prevent any jealousies or misunderstandings between the civil and military authorities, as all such differences cannot fail of being highly prejudicial to the public service. The Military Commandant will receive instructions to the like effect.

“(14.) The Commissioner-General will endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with all the native tribes, and to promote a commercial and friendly intercourse between them and the Colonists. For this purpose he will occasionally attend the border fairs, and make special reports whenever he thinks any improvement may be introduced in this arrangement, or their number advantageously augmented.

“II. Those duties of the Commissioner-General which relate to the interior of the Colony.

“(15.) Civil Commissioners of Albany and Somerset, Uitenhagen and Graaff Reinet, are instructed to receive

and obey such written orders as may be communicated to them by the Commissioner-General, as well as to furnish, or cause to be furnished to him, such information or explanations as he shall have occasion to demand from them, or from any of their subordinates ; but it is not intended that he should interfere with the usual routine of their duty, particularly with those duties which belong to them as public accountants : and those functionaries will continue to correspond directly with the Secretary to Government, and with the Treasurer and Accountant-General, as they have been, or may hereafter be instructed.

“The Commissioner-General will, however, be required to make an annual tour of the district of Witenhagen, Albany, Somerset, and Graaff Reinet, and the sub-districts of Beaufort and Clan William, and such Field-Cornets of the Worcester district as are on the borders of the Colony, and to inspect the books of the Civil Commissioners of Albany and Somerset and Graaff Reinet, and of the Civil Commissioners of Worcester as far as they concern the sub-district of Clan William, and the border field-cornetries, and make a report to the Secretary to Government upon the state of each district and sub-district.

“(16.) The Commissioner-General will examine strictly all the receipt accounts of the Civil Commissioners, and will minutely investigate all the circumstances of all persons returned defaulters, or in arrears for taxes or land rents within the district or sub-districts hereinbefore mentioned, lists of whom he should obtain from the several Civil Commissioners previously to his annual tour, making special reports to the Secretary to Government on all these matters.

“(17.) The Commissioner-General will also, upon his



annual tour, inquire into the pretensions of all applicants for grants of land, or leases of Government farms, upon which he will report to the Secretary to Government, and he will take an opportunity of visiting any tracts of land remaining unoccupied, and after consulting with the Civil Commissioner of the district, will report upon the most advantageous mode of disposing of them. He will look closely into the valuation of all newly-unoccupied lands, and report whenever he thinks that an unfair return has been made of the quantity of stock, which such land can maintain, whether such be to the prejudice of the revenue or to the occupant.

“(18.) He will on his annual tour make a particular inspection of all the Government buildings in the several districts and sub-districts, employing, if necessary, an artificer to assist him in such inspection, and he will in like manner pay particular attention to the state of the roads, bridges, and ferries, and to the conveyance of the mails throughout the several districts.

“(19.) If the Commissioner-General shall observe any want of exertion, or culpable negligence in any Civil Commissioner with respect to the collection of the rents or taxes, he is strictly required to report the same to the Secretary to Government, as well as any complaints he may receive of any maladministration in any department whatever, together with his observations thereon, and he will not fail to report for the information of the Governor any improvement which may appear to him to be practicable in the collection of the Revenues or in any other branch of the public service.

“(20.) The Commissioner-General will most especially direct his attention to the operation of the Ordinances Nos. 49 and 50, and will take every opportunity of examining the books to be kept by the several persons,

and for the purpose therein mentioned. He will from time to time make reports to the Secretary to Government on this subject, noticing every departure from these laws and every instance of ill-treatment of Hottentots, or foreigners in the service of the Colonists that may have come under his observation, and in these reports he will suggest any improvements which may be made in the law regarding those persons.

“(21.) The Commissioner-General, whilst on his annual tour, will keep a journal of all his official proceedings, and at its close he will proceed to Cape Town to lay his journal before the Governor, and to give such information as may be required for the due consideration of any matter which the Governor may think it necessary to bring before the Council in consequence of the observations and reports of the Commissioner-General.

“By command of His Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) “JOHN BELL,

“Acting Secretary to Government.

“Colonial Office, Cape Town,

“September 27, 1828.”

The early history of the Colony up to the date at which we have now arrived, viz., the expulsion of Macoma from the Kat River, is given so concisely and clearly by Sir Andries in his evidence, that it will here form an admirable compendium of all that precedes. He says—

“Ever since the middle of the 17th century, since the Dutch East India Company took possession of the Colony, there has been a gradual encroachment in the African territory, and of course the natives resisted originally as much as they could. It is on record, and well known that this was accompanied with a great deal of mutual slaughter and bloodshed. With reference to

the Hottentots it came to that pitch that, with very few exceptions, the nation gradually became servile among the white Colonists. Those who did not submit to that state withdrew into the deserts beyond the Frontiers which were from time to time fixed, and they, being persecuted by all classes, degenerated into the state in which the remains of them exist at the present moment. So far with reference to the Northern Frontier.

“On the coast, and towards the South, similar migrations on the part of the whites took place; they gradually spread eastward, and the Hottentots of course disappeared. The Kaffirs encroached towards the West, as the whites encroached towards the East. At last the whites and Kaffirs came in contact by these means, and for some time they lived on very peaceable terms, till at last disputes commenced amongst them, and also much bloodshed took place. The successive governments, which had existed at that time, had not sufficient power always to control those excesses, the interior of the country was in a disturbed state, and sometimes in open arms against the Government. At last, however, when the Government collected sufficient strength, there was a legal boundary fixed. I think that was by a proclamation of the Earl of Macartney, or perhaps earlier under the Dutch Government, about the year 1778. That boundary was the Great Fish River up to Esterhuis Poort, and towards a chain of mountains running North East up to the Winterberg. This was a restrictive line, drawn arbitrarily by the Dutch authorities. They did not, however, succeed at once in clearing the country of the Kaffirs to that extent, and after many aggressions on both sides, the Kaffirs continued in possession of the Zuurveld, which is now (1835) the Albany district, and the territory west of that, as far as

the Sundays River. This territory, west of the Great Fish River, remained consequently a bone of contention between the whites and blacks, until at last the Government decided on expelling the Kaffirs from this territory altogether.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Collins was first sent up by Lord Caledon. He started in 1808 and returned in 1809. I travelled with him throughout Kaffirland in 1809, he, however, made many preliminary enquiries, and did not proceed to any hostile measures against the Kaffirs. Colonel Graham, however, was sent towards the close of 1811, and the Kaffirs were then by a joint military and Burgher force driven beyond the Fish River, and the country immediately became partially occupied by Dutch farmers. In 1817 the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, visited the Frontier, up to that period the system of taking Kaffir cattle in return for what was stolen from the Colonists was not allowed in the manner since practised. His Lordship assembled the Kaffir chiefs in the Kat River, and after a long discussion with them, it was there decided for the first time that Gaika should be considered the responsible Chief in Kaffirland by the local Government, and it was determined that for the future whenever cattle should be taken from the Colonists by Kaffirs, the patrol should follow the traces into Kaffirland, and have a right to demand and take from the first kraal or Kaffir village the number of cattle thus taken from the Colonists. Here it is my opinion that a great door to irregularities was opened.

“The Kaffirs are very much attached to their cattle. Subsequent experience has proved that in nine cases out of ten it is impossible to find the guilty party, and of course generally the innocent suffer. These people from their attachment to their cattle, on which they

principally live (living principally on milk), are of course very apt to resist their cattle being taken, and such resistance can easily be construed into a hostile feeling, and any unscrupulous leader, who chooses will then proceed to the last extremity in the execution of his orders, and bring off their cattle. This, I think, gave occasion to great irritation on the part of the Kaffirs. It so happened that, soon after this, the Cape regiment was disbanded, with a very trifling exception. In 1818, a dispute took place between the Kaffirs under Gaika, and the other tribes inhabiting the country more towards the coast. The Government then, as I think unfortunately considered it was the duty of the Colony, from motives of precaution, I suppose, to interfere in that quarrel.

“A Commando was sent into Kaffirland under the command of Colonel Brereton to support Gaika. That Commando killed a number of Kaffirs, and brought out an immense drove of cattle from Kaffirland, from the tribe with which Gaika was at war, part of which was left with Gaika, and part brought into the Colony, on the strength of the regulation issued in 1817, and distributed in various ways as compensation for Colonial losses by Kaffir inroads. That was in 1818. Now this led, as I conceive, directly to the attacks of the Kaffirs on the Zuurveld in 1819. These Kaffirs, who then attacked the Zuurveld, were the Kaffirs, who were at war with Gaika, and there were suspicions also that Gaika had supported them in their attack upon us. There were at that time dreadful ravages committed by the Kaffirs (1819); nothing of the sort had been before experienced, and it was on so extensive a scale that they even attacked the military headquarters. They were then repulsed with slaughter, but the whole of the Zuurveld was laid waste, and it was not until after

considerable difficulty that it became in some measure clear of the Kaffirs.

“Then followed as an unavoidable necessity the Commando of 1819 under Colonel Willshire. It would have been impossible for the Colonial Government to have kept possession of any part of that district if matters had been allowed then to rest as they were. All the disposable force in the whole Colony, military and civil, were drawn to the Frontier, the Kaffirs were driven back, were pursued into what is called Kaffirland, and the result of that expedition was the seizure of the ceded territory between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma.

“The Frontier Line of the great Fish River, in consequence of the impenetrable jungle, was considered totally untenable, while the Kaffirs were brought to that state of hostility against the Colony. Lord Charles Somerset in 1819 again visited the Frontier: the Kaffir chiefs were assembled on a prominent hill, and there was much discussion with them, which passed through me as interpreter of the Dutch language, minuted down by the Colonial Secretary, then Colonel Bird, who also understood the Dutch language, and afterwards inserted in the *Government Gazette*. The result of that discussion was that the boundary line was taken from a high peak, situated at the sources of the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, taking a bend eastward between those two rivers along a ridge running into the Keiskamma, and from thence to the sea the Keiskamma was to be the boundary. Gaika objected to this, saying, that he wished to retain possession of the basin or amphitheatre formed at the various sources of the Chumie River, which by the first arrangement were included within the ceded territory, using these metaphorical words, ‘I have been

born and bred up there, and wish to die there.' His Lordship then being on the spot, where he had the whole country before him clearly, after consulting those present as to the local position of that country, agreed that the line should run from that high peak, not eastward, so as to embrace the sources of the Chumie, but westward so as to run upon the ridge between the Kat River sources, and the Chumie River sources. The line keeping this ridge down to its junction at the Chumie, and thence along the water towards the sea.

"After the surrender of that land by Gaika, a question originated as to the occupation of that territory on the spot before we parted, and it was understood between him and the Colonial Government then, that it was to be neutral territory. In order to explain that correctly, as interpreter, and in order to convey it to the chief's mind, I used these words: That the waters of the Rivers Goonap, Karoomo, and Kat River, were to run in future undisturbed into the sea ; that neither Kaffirs nor whites were to inhabit that country. Lord Charles Somerset returned to the Colony, and shortly afterwards the intelligence arrived from this country that the House of Commons had voted a certain sum for emigration, and that a great number of settlers would be poured into that Colony.

"A difference of opinion then originated between the Governor and the Colonial Secretary, as to the right of occupation, as His Lordship was anxious to avail himself of that territory for the location of the settlers. His Lordship was then on the point of returning to England, and Sir Rufane Donkin was to take charge of the Colony during his absence. His Lordship considered that the acting Governor, in his absence, would be perfectly justified in locating settlers in that territory, which



Colonel Bird denied, and the question being referred to me I repeated the words of the so-called treaty. That was in the discussion between Colonel Bird and the Governor, before I had any intercourse with the Acting Governor. Sir Rufane Donkin came to the Frontier soon after taking upon himself the charge of the Government, and told me that he himself had scruples on the subject, and wished to know my sentiments, telling me what Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary, had said on the subject. I repeated the words of the treaty, and the Acting Governor then said, 'Then I shall proceed no further without first seeing Gaika.' Gaika was accordingly sent for. His Excellency waited some time, and Gaika was very long in coming, but just as he was prepared to depart Gaika did arrive, and his departure was postponed in order that the discussion might take place, and then it was agreed that the Government should have the right of locating people in that territory. I was immediately sent to have the lands at the sources of the Kat River surveyed for this Scotch party, which was done.

"The Scotch party, however, did not come out; some misfortune occurred to Captain Grant, and the party became scattered. I believe part were shipwrecked, or lost at sea somewhere, and that part of the plan therefore failed; the location on the Beka, called Fredericksburg, was set on foot, but on the return of Lord Charles Somerset towards the end of 1820, that was also put a stop to, so that the whole of the ceded territory then again became vacant, and gradually a number of people from the Frontier Districts emigrated into it with their flocks.

"Sir Rufane Donkin left the Government towards the close of 1821; I was then chief magistrate of the district,

bordering on a part of Kaffirland, but had no direct concern with the protection of the Frontier as far as the military were concerned. Some time after Sir Rufane's departure, a Field-Cornet of the district nearest the Frontier reported to me that the Kaffirs had come back to, and were residing in the ceded territory. This report went, amongst others, in the usual course to the Colonial Office, and it was referred to the Commandant of the Frontier, and I received a letter telling me that there was no such thing, that the Kaffirs were not within the ceded territory. I then considered it my duty to enquire, and found that they were, and consequently my report to the Government was to that effect: a few weeks afterwards I was ordered to proceed, and show the authorities in the engineer department the Frontier as I understood it to exist.

"I went to Fort Beaufort, and took with me a copy of the Government *Gazette*, in which that part of the Frontier is marked out very clearly, and the moment I read the passage to Mr. Pettingall, he immediately saw the error, and the report was made to Government accordingly. A few weeks again after that I received a communication from the Colonial Office, telling me that as the Military Commandant had permitted the Kaffirs to come into the territory in question, they should be allowed to remain there as long as they behaved themselves quietly; that was some time in 1822. I had nothing more to say on the subject, but felt extremely sorry, considering this (though it might have proceeded from the most humane motives) a most injurious measure, and I believe any military man will say with me that the sources of the Kat and Goonap Rivers constitute the strongest hold in the whole of the Frontier line from the Orange River down to the sea, and therefore allowing a

people, which was often called 'the enemy,' to gain a footing there, so as to break entirely in on the best line of the Frontier defence we could find, if ever we should attempt to make an effective one, was very impolitic.\* \* \*

"I must now come to the period of my acting as Commissioner-General, which brought me more in contact with the military portion of the Frontier, and which brings me at once to the year 1828. I must here observe that I have read a pamphlet which has been published by a most worthy gentleman, the missionary Shaw, who is incapable of an intentional misrepresentation, in which it is stated that the Kaffirs were driven out of the country at the source of the Kat River, in order to obtain land for the location of the Hottentots. In that that gentleman is completely mistaken. I went to the Frontier in 1828 with a view of enquiring into some points connected with the Frontier. On my reaching the Frontier the Civil Commissioner, who was then Major Dundas, met me at the Kaga post, and gave me, in his capacity as Civil Commissioner, all the information I required, amongst which he mentioned several depredations committed by Kaffirs in that part of the country. I met Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, who was then the Commandant of the Frontier at the Goonap post, where a great assemblage of farmers had come to complain of the constant depredations of the Kaffirs; but Colonel Somerset said that of late Makomo and his people had been very quiet, and that he had even received great assistance from him in preventing depredations. The Kaffirs were, upon the strength of this, allowed to remain. I myself had a conversation with Makomo, and received his solemn assurance that he would continue to behave as Colonel Somerset said he had lately done, and I warned him of the consequence of his

doing otherwise. Not many months afterwards a correspondence took place between the Colonial Office and Military Secretary and the civil and military authorities on the Frontier. Makomo with his Kaffirs had made an attack upon the Tambookie kraals, then living peaceably on the borders of the Tarka district ; he had deprived them of their cattle, and murdered a great number of them, and even those that had fled into the Colony were pursued and massacred in the very midst of our population."

This recapitulation brings the reader to the same point at which the 13th Chapter closed ; and having in the 14th Chapter given the original despatches showing the then position of the various Kaffir chiefs, and the manner in which Makomo was expelled from this territory, where the Hottentots were forthwith located to serve as a buffer between the Colonists and the Kaffirs—this may be the proper place for one more quotation from the House of Commons Blue Book, showing what the whole plan of the Commissioner-General was for the defence of the Frontier and the settlement of the ceded territory.

"The ceded territory was entirely at the disposal of the Government, and no person could claim any privilege in it ; I therefore conceived that the Government were fully justified to put such restrictions upon the people who should be located there as it considered necessary for their own benefit, and for the peace of their neighbours. I had long since made up my mind that the great source of misfortune on the Frontier was the system of taking Kaffir cattle under any circumstances by our patrols ; and I shall give my reasons : If Kaffirs steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found, unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that

he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers ; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again : our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Kaffir kraal, the Kaffir, knowing the purpose for which our patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight : we then use force and collect those cattle ; and take the number said to be stolen, or more. This the Kaffirs naturally, and as it always appeared to me justly, resist ; they have nothing else to live on, and if the cows be taken away the calves perish ; and it is a miserable condition in which the Kaffir women and children, and the whole party, are left. That resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible then to prevent innocent blood-shed ; it also often happens that when the patrol is on the spoor of cattle really stolen, they find some individual head of cattle, which is either knocked up, or purposely left behind by the real perpetrators, near a kraal, and that is taken as a positive proof of the guilt of that kraal, and leads to the injustice which I have just pointed out.

“There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Kaffirland with a patrol pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle was taken from the Kaffirs on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction, or found them destroyed by wolves, or through his own neglect entirely strayed away. . . . I must persist that as long as Kaffir cattle be taken, peace on the Frontier is utterly impossible ; I therefore said, ‘the Government can dictate any terms they choose to the

people whom they allow to be located in the ceded territory, and each location shall consist of at least so many men capable of bearing arms, and actually bearing arms, that a portion of those men can be out with the flocks ; and where it shall be proved that a man has left his cattle unguarded, or has not seen them for one day, whatever may be his loss no hostile measure shall be taken against the Kaffirs, and no patrol shall cross the Frontier in search of such cattle.'

"Upon the above principles, on which my mind had been long made up, I was determined that into the ceded territory no people should go to live, who would not consent to take the land upon the terms Government should dictate, and I recollect that the principal feature of my order was that upon every location there should be at least four men capable of bearing arms ; that two of these should guard the flocks ; that one might remain for the protection of the family and the premises, and the fourth should be at all times ready to go out in defence of the Frontier in case of an invasion ; and also that if twenty-four hours elapsed after the loss of cattle, no pursuit should be allowed, and no Kaffir cattle taken under any circumstances. . . .

"When Gaika spoke to Sir Rufane Donkin about the occupation of the ceded territory, one of the principal points he dwelt upon was about the Boers on the Frontier exposing themselves, going unarmed, and their cattle running wild and unguarded all over the country, all of which he considered as giving his people too great a temptation to plunder the farmers, and revenge earlier wrongs by murder. Many farmers, both English settlers and Dutch, have often spoken to me about the injurious tendency of this system. The majority of these farmers wish for nothing but peace, and the

protection of themselves and their property ; but it is impossible in such an extensive community as ours, living in the state as some of our people do, that there should not be among them unprincipled men, who would be glad to avail themselves of every opportunity of enriching themselves at the expense of their weaker neighbours : and it is cruel that a whole community shall suffer for the crimes of these few, nor is it reasonable to suppose that in a nation of barbarians there should not be numbers addicted to plunder ; but then again it is equally cruel to drive a whole nation to desperation for the aggressions of a part."

To the above extracts I shall merely add the following :—

"Memorandum drawn up by the Commissioner-General of the Cape of Good Hope upon the Frontier Policy of said Colony, contained in Bannister's 'Humane Policy,' 'Bruce's Letters,' 'Kay's Researches,' and some reviews on those publications.

"My attention having been especially called to the above productions by the various animadversions which have been passed in my presence on the system in question, I owe it in justice to myself to place on record my sentiments, as well as the share I have had in the transactions alluded to, in order to be prepared for any of those attacks of which threats have been held out.

"All my experience on the subject of Commandos by the Colonial forces against the native bordering tribes has confirmed me in the position, which I have always maintained, that there is as much danger in the one extreme as in the other. It is impossible to deny that the oppressions of the European colonists, and their descendants, is the cause of the degradation of most of the natives, and the hostile feeling existing between the



Colony and its black neighbours. The conviction of this fact alone is sufficient to induce the Government to make those amends, which are still within its power, by protecting those natives against further persecution, and exerting every possible means to improve their condition and civilize them. But I am far from thinking that these desiderata can be obtained by 'turning the tables' as it has been called, and allowing those tribes to murder and plunder with impunity, and by preventing the Colonists from protecting their lives and property against those outrages. Such a system could only end in the extermination of the weaker party, and a mistaken humanity would be found the height of cruelty at last.

"Let the sincere philanthropist for a moment contemplate what would be the result of a Government being altogether passive under the excesses, which savages and barbarians are capable of perpetrating, not only against those by whose ancestors they feel themselves to have been wronged, and against whom they harbour a feeling of implacable revenge, but against their own fellow sufferers, who, with themselves, must in the end, if not checked, become the sacrifices of their own indiscriminate and mutual massacres. I have upon this principle always considered it an imperious duty to root out any gang of robbers, murderers and marauders, as soon as they were discovered, before the evil should spread to such an extent as to involve the lives of hundreds; and every order, which I ever issued, will be found to be regulated accordingly. For instance, if the band who attacked the Field-Cornet Steenkamp last year had at once been crushed, it never could have gained sufficient strength and courage to attempt the massacre in the Winterveld, in which it was so lamentably successful, a few months later. All parties, the humane

as well as the religious, now join the community at large in wishing for the destruction of these desperadoes, who it must be expected will perpetrate many more deeds of blood.

"I quote this one instance merely to show the evils which, by not wisely discriminating between the bad and good, we may bring upon the very classes we seek to protect, since the peaceable natives beyond the Frontier, are themselves in much greater danger of those marauders than the Colony, as they have either to join in those sanguinary depredations, or fall an easy sacrifice.

"I have also seen several attacks made on the Cape Government for the expulsion of the Kaffirs under the Chief Makomo from the ceded territory in 1829. If any fault was committed on this head, it was the permitting the Kaffirs to return to that territory after they were expelled in 1819 (to whatever criticism the treaties of which that expulsion was the consequence may be open), and I maintain that the Government could not, without displaying the greatest possible weakness, have allowed those Kaffirs to remain within the Colonial territory, after their wanton attack on the Tambookies, pursuing them into the Colony, and there carrying on murder and destruction, to the consternation of the King's subjects, who must have forsaken the country if they were to be liable to repetitions of similar hostile intentions. The complaints of the depredations of these Kaffirs were also of such a nature, and so well authenticated that to allow them to go unpunished would have led to the most disastrous results. They were suffered to remain in the said territory conditionally ; their peaceable conduct was the positive *sine qua non* : to allow them to trample this proviso under foot, would to them have appeared imbecility, and led them on from one

aggression to another. I therefore fully approved of the removal of Makomo and his people ; and upon the same principle recommended the direct opposite course towards the Kaffirs in another part of the ceded territory, who had complied with their part of the arrangement, conceiving that the land ought to be given them altogether, if they have, as they say, a promise to that effect, provided they consent to become amenable to the laws of the Colony under certain modifications, as it would not be politic to allow that land to revert to Kaffraria, particularly now, when it affords such an excellent opportunity for making the experiment of incorporating with ourselves its present tenants with their own consent.

“ I have no hesitation in saying that I would not scruple to recommend the expulsion from the ceded territory of every kraal of Kaffirs, which could be clearly proved guilty as a body of carrying on depredations either against the Colony, or others of their neighbours, and I am equally positive in the opinion that the murders perpetrated by Makomo’s people on the Baviaans River subsequent to his said expulsion ought to have been visited with the severest punishment, if even it had involved the destruction of his whole kraal, or its expulsion from Kaffirland itself. Whilst the voice of humanity is justly raised in favour of the long and cruelly oppressed blacks, that of justice and prudence remind us that the whites also have a claim to protection ; that they have also lives and property and rights to lose, and that the wanton abandonment of these to the ferocity of a few desperate gangs among the native tribes will not benefit and civilize their brethren in the aggregate, but must generate that irritation and despair which ultimately no Government can prevent from terminating in the most unrestrained indulgence of revenge.

“Thus much for what appears to me to be the one extreme ; but on the other hand nothing can be more pernicious or more destructive to peace and civilization, than the system of taking the cattle of the natives as a compensation for what is stolen, or said to be stolen from the Colonists, without due enquiry, and the most incontestable proofs, and shooting those natives upon suspicion, or even without suspicion merely because stolen cattle is traced, or said (by some interested party) to be traced into their kraals. All the disturbances on the frontier of late years, all the acts of severity which consequently became necessary, the backward state of improvement of the Kaffirs, and the necessity of still maintaining a military force against them, can be traced to this prolific source. If the seizure of the enormous mass of Kaffir cattle by Colonel Brereton’s Commando in 1818, had not taken place, that of Colonel Wilshire in 1819 would not have been necessary, and no possible ground of justification for the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the ceded territory could have existed. And thus it has been ever since. So sure as we take Kaffir cattle, except when you force them to restore what they have taken, as in the case of the Tambookie cattle plundered by Makomo, and the like, upon principles agreed on between the Government and the Kaffir Chiefs, so sure must those from whom they are taken plunder or starve.

“This system of reprisal, therefore, I have always opposed with the utmost determination, as will be seen from my letter to the Colonial Government, and I never was more confirmed in this view of the matter than by a Commando, which I was induced to sanction in June 1830, upon the representation of the Military Commandant and the Frontier Boers. This Officer had been led to believe the Frontier in a most alarming

state, and the number of cattle taken from the Colony, enormous.

“I accompanied one of the Divisions of this Com-mando after having strictly forbid the Boers taking any Kaffir cattle whatever, unless the Kaffirs should violently resist their taking such cattle as could be sworn to as Colonial property. A division of Boers took a considerable number of Colonial and Kaffir cattle mixed, pretending that they had a desperate fight for it, in which the Kaffir Chief Zeko and several of his men were killed ; but I subsequently found out that those unfortunate men were murdered in cold blood, and unarmed, for which atrocious act there could have been no reason, except to find a plea for seizing the Kaffir cattle, contrary to my orders. I therefore feel convinced that the Commandant had been misinformed as to the state of the Frontier, and that most of the reports about the numerous depredations, and desperate intentions of the Kaffirs were utterly groundless, just as in 1829, when the Colony was thrown into the utmost alarm, for which there was not the slightest foundation, though it nearly brought about a Kaffir war.

“Now I beg that it be clearly understood, that in here speaking of Boers, I allude to those who are immediately interested in the reprisal system ; the mass of those Colonists who understand its effects, hold it in abomination ; those, moreover, who live distant from the Frontier, can derive no advantage from it ; they know that when the Kaffirs are driven to desperation, and a war ensues, they may be called from their homes and business, at an enormous expense, for months, without a chance of remuneration. In fact these false alarms, in which the Cape Frontier is so prolific, are advantageous to none but those who covet the possession of Kaffir

cattle, or expect more benefit from military coercion and the increase of the forces than from conciliation and justice. To the Colony at large, and the Kaffirs, they are a source of endless vexation, and severe losses, such as those in 1828, which the Colony will have long occasion to remember. With the respectable classes they form a subject of serious complaint.

“In June 1831 I again reached the Frontier, when the Military Commandant once more desired my consent to a Burgher Commando being assembled to enter Kaffirland, together with the troops. I at once declined, as I considered the Frontier in the most perfect state of tranquillity, and had not yet forgiven myself for the sanctioning of the former year's expedition. The Commandant, however, applied to the Governor direct, and obtained His Excellency's approval ; which led to a controversy so fully explanatory of the views of all parties that I prefer annexing copies in full to any attempt at giving the substance.

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“Now with respect to the seizing of the Kaffir cattle by way of reprisal in the manner complained of. I have said enough to show its injustice or ruinous consequences, and to justify my decided opposition thereto ; and as for the other part of the plan, viz., the shooting of those into whose kraals cattle should be traced, I can only say that it exceeds all that even the least scrupulous of the Boers ever asked for as a regulation, and the Government has only to give its fiat to that proposal to bring about a regular war of extermination, and to be in possession of the whole of Kaffirland as a matter of necessity, and an inevitable consequence, in a few years, for no one need go to Africa, or even out of London, to be convinced that then there is an end of all prospect of

civilization at once. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the slaughter must fall on the innocent. It is well known that plunderers almost invariably drive the spoil through peaceable kraals, and often leave part thereof in such kraals to deceive the pursuers—they surely will not wait there to be shot. The wretch who takes a fancy to any flock of Kaffir cattle, or either from motives of revenge, or to excite the customary alarm and ferment, desires the destruction of a kraal, has only to lead the patrol upon some real or pretended traces, or need only himself secretly to drive cattle into such kraal, and then where is the hope for the victims of such an order, or what can prevent the Kaffirs from becoming what the Bushmen are, except that I feel confident that few British officers could be found who would consent to act up to such instructions?”

The remainder of this memorandum, or at least further extracts from it, may probably be quoted hereafter.



## CHAPTER XVI.

1828-1829.

1828-1829—Marriage—Removal to Uitenhage—Frontier alarm—Groundless—Report thereon—Further Report—Sir L. Cole visits Frontier—Inspects Kat River—Plan for settlement of Ceded Territory—Defence of Frontier—Reduction of Military Force—Catchcart System compared—Outcry of Frontier Party—Order to suspend Location beyond Kat River—Departure of Sir L. Cole—His System upset—Short mention of subsequent Dealings with Kat River.

IN December, 1828, the Commissioner-General, Captain Stockenstrom, married Elsabe Helena Maasdrorp, daughter of G. H. Maasdrorp, Esq., manager of the Government, or (as it was called) the Lombard Bank, a lady, who to a noble and exalted mind, sustained under the many trials of an eventful life by the strongest Christian principles, added all the graces and accomplishments which commanded for her, wherever she went, the esteem of the community, and the love and regard of her family and friends.

Resuming now the personal narrative as penned by Sir Andries himself, we find him recording—

My position was now considerably changed, as I had become a married man on the 8th December. Then followed the settlements of the Hottentots on the Kat River in lieu of Makomo and his Kaffirs, of which the Blue Books and the Colonial Office are so full that repetition here would be quite superfluous (especially as a separate Chapter will be hereafter devoted to this subject).

Having accomplished this duty with the most cordial support, and to the perfect satisfaction of the Government, I returned to Cape Town in order to break up my establishment there, and to fix my residence in the old Dröstdy House at Uitenhage, but I had hardly reached Genadendal on my way to the Frontier, when a despatch from the Government overtook me with communications from the Civil and Military authorities in Graham's Town of the most alarming character, reporting the expectation of an immediate invasion of the Colony by the Kaffirs. The whole affair appeared to me extremely suspicious, but I had no alternative. I left my wife to find her way from Field-Cornet to Field-Cornet, which, to a youthful lady, who had never been many miles away from the Heere Gracht, was no cheerful beginning of a married life; but amply relieved by the kindness of the excellent people on the road, I galloped day and night as fast as horses could be got, until I reached Uitenhage, where I at once saw that my first estimate of the commotion was the correct one.

No honest man acquainted with the relative position and feelings of the Colonists and Kaffirs will tell you that he does not know that at any instant since the first collision between the two parties, but particularly after the war of 1812, up to the present moment, the latter, if they were sure of success would rise to a man, and cut the throat of every white male and female, whom they could overtake as a measure partly of policy, and partly of revenge, though they certainly cannot be called a bloodthirsty race, and though the most polished nations of Europe have never respected women in war as they do; but the Kaffirs are no fools. They knew *in* 1829 *particularly* that they had no chance with us. I shall not however here trust to memory, but refer you to my

letters in the Colonial Office, and what was written on the opposite side.

Some of the alarmists were only dupes no doubt, but the whole affair was a deep-laid scheme to bring about the war, which did ensue about five years later, but which my sudden appearance and investigations then put a stop to.

The letters alluded to are as follows :—

“Graham’s Town,  
“September 5, 1829.

“SIR,—Having had the honour to receive at Genadendal on the 26th ulto. Your Excellency’s instructions (conveyed by letter from the Secretary to Government dated the day before) relative to the measures to be adopted on the Frontier, in consequence of the representations made by the Commandant of Kaffraria and the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, I lost no time in proceeding to Uitenhage, and arrived there on the morning of the 31st.

“I immediately waited on the Civil Commissioner, Mr. van der Riet, and understood that he had received no additional information on the above subject, with the exception of a private note from Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset telling him that the assistance of the Uitenhage Burgers would not be wanted. Having also understood from other private but authentic sources that the alarm had in a great measure subsided, so much so, that even a small party migrating to Natal was proceeding through Kaffirland without apprehension, I was confirmed in my opinion that there was no foundation for the several reports the Commandant had received as to a confederacy among the Kaffir chiefs, with such desperate intentions as had been attributed to them, and therefore decided on not calling out the armed Burgers of

Graaff Reinet and Uitenhage, before I should receive the information which the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset had been directed to send to me, where I then was.

"I received the latter officer's letter on the 1st instant as per subjoined copy with enclosure, which proved that no unusual hostile efforts had been made by the Kaffirs, which certainly would not have been so long delayed if their plans had been so far and so early matured as related by Bezuidenhout and the interpreters.

"I did not, however, deem it advisable to cause the order for the Burgers holding themselves in readiness to be countermanded, but on the contrary, left instructions with the Civil Commissioner for the most efficient disposal of the Uitenhage force in case of a sudden levy, and having only waited for the arrival of the Cape post, I, on finding no instructions from Your Excellency calculated to detain me at Uitenhage, proceeded to this place on the 3rd.

"On the road I saw no symptoms of alarm ; numbers of men, women, and children, wandered through the woody country unarmed, and flocks of cattle grazed unprotected in every direction. I was glad to find that it was not even deemed necessary to guard the mail, and some men accompanying waggons from Theopolis, assured me that at and about their institution (in the immediate vicinity of the Cowie and Kariega Bosch) everything was perfectly peaceable and quiet ; and that so far from the locations on the Kat River having been broken up, some Hottentots had very lately gone to join them. The Field-Cornet of lower Bosjesman's River said in reply to my order for him to be on the alert : 'If Government will only rid us of the Hottentots, we have little to fear from the Kaffirs.' I also met two letters

from the Provisional Field-Commandant Erasmus of which I shall subjoin translations, by which it will appear to Your Excellency that subsequent to the date of the Commandant's statement to Captain Campbell a new location has been established immediately near the Kaffirs, at which twenty-eight armed men were considered a sufficient force, which certainly would have been a desperate undertaking if a general attack by the Kaffirs upon said locations with a view to 'sacrifice man, woman and child' had been really expected ; and that on the 28th ulto. the Provisional Field-Commandant considered the Kaffirs 'still very peaceable with the exception of their thefts.'

"On reaching this place I found the Civil Commissioner of opinion that extensive plundering was all we would have to guard against for the present, and the Military Commandant agreed with that officer and myself, that it would be inexpedient and injurious to call out a Commando. I have since understood that Messrs. Bain and Biddulph (traders) passed through the populous part of Kaffirland within these few days, on their return to the Colony, and perceived nothing but alarm in dread of a Commando on our part : (the former individual Your Excellency may see at Graaff Reinet); Mr. Brownlee (the Missionary on the Buffalo River) writes to the same effect. Mr. Philips, the Justice of the Peace near the Cowie's mouth, assured me yesterday that in his neighbourhood no danger was apprehended, and I can hardly find anybody who gives credit to the alarming confederacy.

"Your Excellency will excuse my troubling you with these details, but I wish to give my grounds for not believing the Frontier in a state of greater danger than when I left it two months ago. That the Kaffirs would

give us great trouble during winter we expected, and I was in hopes that a line of locations from the Winterberg to the sea upon the same principle as the one now existing about the sources of the Kat River, supported by the military posts, would have been an effectual barrier to Kaffir inroads, but this plan could only be partially adopted on account of the objections to the moving of the troops to new positions in the depth of winter.

“The Kaffirs consequently found no difficulty in getting into the unoccupied tracts of country, and there watching opportunities to carry off cattle in which they were and still are very successful, and the late increased inroads and depredations, I must consider more the effect than the cause of the great alarm which existed, for the Kaffirs, hearing of our apprehensions and preparations, would naturally try to get into the extensive cover within our boundary, as, in case a Commando should enter their country, they would be out of its reach and be better able to carry off the flocks exposed by the absence of the owners on the expedition. It is therefore principally that the calling out of a Commando is objectionable, and this I trust will convince Your Excellency of the necessity of availing ourselves of the approaching spring and summer, to settle the ceded territory to its extremities with a dense population, and not to leave the Kaffirs the benefit of another winter, with the Frontier in its present open exposed state.

“Your Excellency’s speedy visit to these parts renders further comment on this subject superfluous for the present, as your own observation and judgment will be so much better guides ;—in the meantime the carrying into effect the provisions of Your Excellency’s proclamation of the 25th ult., and guarding as much as possible against depredations by constant patrolling where Kaffirs

are traced, must limit our operations, whilst we remain prepared against emergencies of a more serious nature.

"I shall subjoin copy of a letter addressed to me by the Commandant of Kaffraria, and my reply to show how we agree as to the employment of the Burger force.

"I proceed to-morrow, to see as many of the neighbouring chiefs as possible, to let them know the causes and objects of said proclamation, inform them that they may soon have an opportunity of personally communicating with Your Excellency, and lay before them the dangers to themselves of the present state of affairs.

"It is perhaps superfluous to add, after the above statement, that I have not deemed it necessary to take any steps towards arming the wandering, idle Hottentots, and as your Excellency will find the state of that people a subject for serious consideration, I shall not now anticipate the question.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM.

"Commissioner-General.

"P.S.—I have just seen Provisional Field-Cornet Groepe, who, with some of his party, rode in here unarmed. He says the Kaffirs steal constantly; but he has not the least fear of being forced to abandon the location.

"To His Excellency Lieutenant-General

"The Honourable Sir G. L. Cole, G.C.B.,

"Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c."

This was supplemented five days later by the following:—

"Kat River, September 11, 1829.

"SIR,—I had the honour of submitting to Your Excellency (by letter dated Graham's Town the 5th



instant forwarded to Beaufort) the steps I had taken, and information I had obtained in consequence of Your Excellency's commands issued upon the receipt of representations from the authorities on this Frontier, relative to the suspected hostile intentions of the Kaffirs towards the Colony. I there came to a conclusion that the confederacy imputed to the Kaffir Chiefs did not exist ;—that the calling out of the Burger force was unnecessary, and that the usual (though perhaps increased) depredations on the flocks of the inhabitants were all that we had at present to dread. I could not *then* deny that an extraordinary number of marauders were lurking within the Colony ;—that the Chiefs themselves were conniving at and instigating their people to the plundering expeditions so justly complained of ;—or even that a more threatening attitude had been assumed by said Chiefs, founded on a hope of mutual support in case of a crisis ; but I feel assured that by a mere statement of my subsequent proceedings and inquiries, Your Excellency will be satisfied that the Frontier is not in a more alarming predicament than I have represented it throughout, viz., that a considerable portion of the Kaffir nation having suffered by the calamitous visitations which have pressed so hard on the agriculturists and graziers of this Colony, are reduced to the greatest extremities, which has considerably added to the number of plunderers from which the Frontier has never been entirely exempt : that their inroads are rendered successful principally by the carelessness of the farmers and their herds ;—that some of the chiefs do, when they can without fear of detection, participate in the booty, but dare not openly countenance acts of aggression, and know it to be their interest, and are therefore anxious to keep on good terms with the Colony.

"I left Graham's Town on the 6th, after having received intelligence the evening before that the country about Kaffir Drift was in a state of great alarm, that the thickets bordering on the Fish River were 'as full of Kaffirs as they could hold,' and that the cattle of a man of the name of Fagan had been taken by them. I however saw unarmed people of both sexes scattered over the country in the same manner as between Uitenhage and Graham's Town, and on approaching Kaffir Drift saw a patrol, accompanied by Fagan, returning after two days' pursuit of this man's 'stolen cattle,' when a person named John Cawood came riding up and informed Fagan that his cattle were in the Bathurst Pound.

"The evening before, a daughter of one Brown, had come galloping up to the Post in the greatest consternation, saying that her father's place was surrounded by Kaffirs, and that it was supposed that a neighbouring family (named Mahony) had already been murdered. These Kaffirs turned out to be a few who had been in service returning quietly to their own country with regular passes.

"I heard of no considerable number of Kaffirs in this neighbourhood. The Patrol which had been out with Fagan had seen no Kaffir spoor whatever.

"On the 7th, Pato, Kama, and Conga arrived at said Post. I had a full conference with them; complained of the conduct of the Kaffirs which had led to the proclamation of the 25th ult.; pointed out to them the necessity of the measure, assured them of Your Excellency's good will towards them, and promised them an interview and a *consideration* of their request relative to part of the ceded territory. They were much pleased, denied the existence of the Confederacy,

ridiculed the idea and expressed an anxious desire that all Kaffirs found stealing or wandering in the Colony should be shot, as they saw no possibility of ever having peace by other means ; they declared their readiness to stop marauders passing through their kraals, deliver them up to the Government, or punish them if they resist, provided they might depend upon us for protection against such powerful chief to whom such plunderer might belong and who might take umbrage at their interference, and provided means can be adopted to prevent such plunderer returning to Kaffirland and taking revenge on them after being delivered up.

“On this point all the Chiefs whom I met agree and insist ; and some complain of occasional instances of lenity, which they represent as the true cause of the mischief ; and, on my justifying such proceedings by arguments difficult to be understood by the savage, I could elicit no other reply than ‘if you catch a wolf, do you let him loose in hopes of his mending, or do you use the only certain means of preventing him troubling you again? A thief is like a wolf ; as sure as you let him loose, so sure will he steal again.’ I mention this in answer to the assertion that the Kaffir Chiefs openly encourage plunder.

“On the 8th, I left Kaffir Drift, and took the road west of the Fish River direct through the extensive thickets of the Kooms and the Comtees. I called at a Post temporarily established under Captain Elligood of the 55th Regiment, and understood that the patrols of that party had found three Kaffirs driving off cattle, which they retook, firing over the heads of the Kaffirs, and had not seen a Kaffir spoor since. I, in my way to Fort Willshire, necessarily passed through the paths leading through said bush from Kaffirland into the Colony. I

was accompanied by two men of the Mounted Rifles; we looked particularly, but could only find the traces of *one* Kaffir, who seemed recently to have driven some cattle from the Comtees Drift by Breakfast Vley, in the direction of Enno's kraals. These kraals seemed perfectly undisturbed, thousands of their cattle grazing in perfect security. The Chief I found with Botma, at Fort Willshire, with several of their principal men; they had come with the utmost confidence as soon as they were sent for. They had heard a 'talk' in Kaffirland of an intended attack upon the Colony, but maintained that this talk had come from the Colony, as the Kaffirs were asking each other, which party of them was to do it; they disclaimed all connections with Makoma, saying they had trouble enough with their own affairs, and added that Government knew perfectly that Gaika, to whose cause they were attached, could not go to war with the Colony, whence alone he could hope for protection against his enemies who were so numerous in Kaffirland that they would soon overwhelm him, if they were not overawed by us. They said that they had been informed that they were to be driven out of the ceded territory, which they fear (from the continued depredations of the Kaffirs) would happen, but begged and prayed that Your Excellency would consider that such a measure would make plunderers of all their people, as they would find no room to subsist upon beyond the Keiskamma; whereas, under the protection of the Colonial arms, against the remoter Chiefs, they may act as auxiliaries in checking inroads and intercepting plunderers.

"If this plan could be brought to bear the advantages are obvious, and the very precarious alternative of expulsion would be avoided; but as it will so soon be a

point of Your Excellency's consideration, it would be useless to take up more of your time on the subject at present.

"Chalé came to Fort Beaufort without hesitation as soon as I sent for him ; and Tishla and Machoane, two of Gaika's captains, came to the upper Kat River post as soon as they heard of my being there. They spoke in the same terms as Enno and Botma had done, and (I confess) satisfied me that there was no ground for the late alarm, and that they are from interest desirous of peace with the Colony. They expressed great satisfaction at Your Excellency's intended visit, were sorry that Gaika's great weakness would prevent his seeing Your Excellency, and declared their determination 'never to cease praying Your Excellency for the restoration of the territory out of which Makoma has been driven.'

"Still, petty depredations take place daily ; but these are as extensive in Kaffirland as in the Colony, though not so successful, because the Kaffir flocks are better guarded than ours. I met the Chief Gola, whom I knew as a very opulent Kaffir a few years ago, going to Bethelsdorp for an asylum, having been plundered of all his cattle by his countrymen ; he told me 'there are too many people without food in Kaffirland, they must steal or die, therefore, you will never see an end to cattle stealing on the frontier ; but make war upon you the Kaffirs never will again.'

"Hinza, I have ascertained, has declined all connection with Makoma. He forbid his people to allow Makoma and his followers to mix with them, saying, 'He has brought mischief upon himself and wishes us to partake of it ; when grass begins to burn there is no knowing where it will stop.' This story is current among the Kaffirs.

"The Hottentot locations I have this day visited—far from being in a state of alarm and partially broken up ; they are on the increase, cutting extensive canals, cultivating a great deal of land, and rather too secure, for I had to reprimand some of their members for being at work, or roaming far from their homes without their firearms, and leaving their horses out at night, so that yesterday the Kaffirs succeeded in carrying off several. These locations are of course obnoxious to the Kaffirs ; but the assertion that they would be less so if composed of Boers or Settlers, is too palpable in its object to make any impression on Your Excellency.

"Having thus, I trust, by a mere statement of facts, shown that no extraordinary efforts for the safety of the Colony are called for immediately, we may safely leave plans for future management to Your Excellency's superior judgment, or to future discussion.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. STOCKENSTROM.

"To His Excellency Lieut.-General

"The Hon. Sir G. L. COLE, G.C.B.,

"Governor and Commander-in-Chief."

To such miserable shifts were the propagators (to say nothing worse) of the alarm driven by their disappointment, when all became quiet on both sides of the Frontier, where all parties had equally frightened each other out of their wits, that they had the audacity to assert that Sir Lowry Cole's hastening to the Frontier had prevented the outbreak, as if His Excellency had as quick as a thunderclap come by rail and steam with some five thousand troops into the midst of tumult and imminent slaughter, whereas the wickedness of this

fabrication is at once exposed by a mere reference to dates, which show that the Governor was prepared at any rate to go to the Frontier, but that as soon as he received my despatches pointing out the real state of affairs, he, so far from hastening to the imagined scene of fire and blood, continued to travel at his ease without a single armed man by the long roundabout Karoo route, so that I had ample time to confer with the Kaffir Chiefs, to forward the Kat River settlements, with a great deal of other public business, and yet to go back and meet His Excellency in Somerset, whence he continued travelling eastward very much at his leisure without either surprising or frightening a single Kaffir, or even having for a moment, though conducted through the thick of the tribes by a mere nominal guard of honour, considered himself in the remotest danger, until he found himself safe back in Government House. Such was the awful crisis of the Colony from which the expeditious movement of the Governor rescued us.

I did, it is true, find that Sir L. Cole was persuaded to believe that there was some ground for the alarm. As he said so, I know he was sincere, but he never satisfied me, and that he did not consider his sudden appearance, nor even his presence, at all necessary to prevent a Kaffir war is self-evident, beyond the power of mystification, or downright falsehood, from the fact that His Excellency soon left the Frontier as he found it, without any the least offensive, defensive, or preventive preparation. But it must be admitted that it would be supposing something superhuman in a stranger with the Governor's antecedents, to expect him to be totally impenetrable by the eternal din of those who were already on tiptoe of excitement at the prospect of millions which the military chest was to pour forth, and the promotions, patronage,



and popularity, which that only inexhaustible source was to spread over our thirsty land.

I did not hesitate to give him my opinion candidly, and was always heard with kindness and attention ; but it was clear that Lord Goderich's and General Bourke's views of the Commissioner-Generalship would not be realised. My mind was, however, at once made up rather to resign the office than quarrel with or throw any factious opposition in the way of such a man on the one hand, or to hold it as a sinecure on the other. His Excellency carefully inspected the Kat River settlement in person, and expressed his warm approbation of everything that had been done. He placed at my disposal the whole of the ceded territory beyond what Lord Charles Somerset had already given away. I undertook to proceed with the distribution forthwith, and submitted my plan, which was mainly to have in view the defence of the frontier, and I stated my determination in considering applications to make no distinction between Hottentots and English, or Dutch.

I considered the claim of the former class at least as strong as either of the others, because I was aware that one of the grounds which induced Lord C. Somerset to call upon the Kaffirs to vacate the then named "ceded territory," was the plea that it was Hottentot country ; and as for the English and Boers, they were in my official estimation always perfectly on a level.

It was decided that the whole of the remainder from the Winterberg to the mouth of the Keiskamma should be colonised upon the following principle—viz., besides the Hottentot settlement, about which the Governor's philanthropic mind made him peculiarly solicitous, the

land was to be divided into farms, as small as convenient, so as to render the population as dense and compact as possible. Any man obtaining one of these locations was bound constantly to keep thereon no less than four men, including himself, capable of bearing arms, and well-armed to turn out against an enemy ; two of these men were to guard the flocks in the day-time ; the others were to be on the homestead ; but one of them to be ready at any time to take the field in co-operation with the military.

These locations were to be given to the holders without further expense, and as provisional boundaries were to be agreed upon, no surveying costs were to be incurred except upon the application of the holders themselves. The Governor directed me to carry out this plan.

I began with the Hottentot settlement, and then in a very short time located upwards of a hundred English and Dutch farmers from the Winterberg to the junction of the Koonap and Fish Rivers. That secured to us in that narrow space, besides the host of Hottentots, upwards of four hundred fighting men. Every syllable of this can be confirmed by the correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Commissioner-General.

The Governor expressed himself highly satisfied with my proceedings, and the friends of peace and justice, English and Dutch, black and white, expressed their conviction that if *Sir Lowry Cole's system* were strictly to be adhered to, so dense and efficient a population located from the sources of the Kat and Koonap to the mouth of the Fish and Keiskamma would render the Eastern Frontier as secure as the Castle against Kaffirs, and enable us to control the restless part of the barbarians, and to deal with the nation upon principles of

sound policy and humanity, content with having obtained what we looked upon as originally Hottentot land, and leaving them in undisturbed possession of what we now admitted to be Kaffirland.

The applicant thus obtained a tolerable-sized grant gratis—that is, without any expense of surveying or rent before he was quite prepared to meet it, and no sort of trouble except seeing the provisional boundaries fixed ; and the four men by whom he pledged himself to occupy were the smallest number by which he could protect himself, his family, and his property. The above tract being thus once settled, would leave no need for more than five or six hundred regular troops stationed in convenient positions between the Fish and the Keiskamma, more for the purposes of moral prestige than for strictly military service against naked savages, which I deem beneath the British soldier, who is made for nobler work. There, then, was Sir Lowry Cole's simple plan, which every honest man saw must soon put a stop to the cruel and dangerous "Patrol reprisal system."

This "Cole system" has, I am told, lately adopted the name of the "Cathcart system." The poor Cape will ever be a prey to a few political swindlers. However, never mind the name, provided the system had been honestly carried out. "Oh, that is exactly what we did not want!" We, the noisy, clamorous, insolent clique, who flatter ourselves that even Secretaries of State and Governors must quake when we frown, and whom, if any one of them is wise enough to laugh us to scorn, we try to drive to desperation by persistent falsehood and slander, with the help of perjury, and subornation of perjury if need be !

Peace, and moral prestige indeed ! What then was to

become of all our Horse Guards' patronage? What was to prevent the glaring exposure of that barefaced job, the "Commandantship of Kaffraria"? How was our idol, Sir George Cathcart, whose posthumous memoirs show how inwardly he spurned our flattery as well as our censure, to be amused by the boast of a "great sufferer," that he had made by one war twenty thousand pounds, and who not long after showed himself quite willing to undergo the same suffering once more? Where were the stores to disgorge their over-crammed, rotten, moth-eaten great-coats and blankets? How were Hintza's ears to get to the Colonial Office, and where were to be had the districts to be given as rewards for these glorious exploits? By what contrivance were we to kidnap the Kaffir chiefs, and send them to be eaten up by filth and vermin among lepers and maniacs? How were we to goad a superstitious race of dupes to despair and self-destruction so as to afford us the triumph of seeing "*Brutes so ungrateful for our benevolent policy,*" by hundreds perishing from hunger by the roadside, affording us the opportunity liberally like Christians to administer to their relief by contributing one shilling out of every thousand pounds made at their expense? Where would there have been matter for volumes of lying, loathsome addresses by which the people of England, and even those of Cape Town, were for a long time deluded? In short, under what pretext or fraud could we have appropriated the land as far as the Bashee or the Umzimvooboo or Natal, and by what channels could the millions of the military chest have been drained into our pockets? Where would be the pretext for a miniature Horse Guards on our borders; and for that best of all jokes *the medal*? "Peace and moral prestige indeed"! No: no Dutchman with his pretended notions of international law, truth and

justice with animals who are evidently created for subservience and hard work, shall fix the Keiskamma as a boundary for men, whose indefeasible right it is to be governed by Englishmen, and to do all those noble deeds above recapitulated.

So we soon made short work of Sir Lowry Cole's locations and system. And so it was! In consequence of some secret intrigue, an order was received suspending the locations beyond the Kat River. I left the Colony in 1833, so did the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bell. Sir L. Cole followed soon after, and as soon as his back was turned his system was totally disregarded. A surveyor was sent to survey the lands in violation of the promise made to the grantees, the condition of occupation was set aside altogether, and many of the locations became Fingoe kraals. . . . Sir H. Smith, and Secretary Montagu under the auspices of Lord Grey, literally gave away by public auction for less than one-twelfth of its value large tracts of the land which had been devoted to Sir L. Cole's system. Sir Henry Pottinger, having been horrified by some reports respecting the domestic morals and general civilization prevailing in the Kat River, appointed a magistrate, who was from peculiar circumstances extremely well adapted for such a mission, to investigate how man and wife and public officer and subject were living together. This elicited a report, which His Excellency published, and which drew from me some comments, which part of the public press also took up. And this took place after all the services that the half starving, half naked Hottentots had rendered during the war of 1846, and before and after the persecution became peculiarly aggravating. Yet even Sir H. Smith's improvement on the torture cannot prevent the best friends of the Hottentots from believing that they richly

deserved their fate—the short work made of them and their locations—were it only for their stupidity in fancying that they could resist the British power, when they had ever the best and most faithful missionaries among and about them. Here I am in the middle of 1850, when I ought still to be in 1830. I must therefore go back.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1830.

1830—State of affairs beyond Orange River—Collision of Boers with Griquas—Boers ordered to return to Colony—Commissioner-General's Report, March 1830—Further Report, August—Condition of Griquas, Bootchooanas, Bushmen, Corannas—Horrible Massacres—Hostility of Dr. Philip—Boers complain of want of sympathy—of Abolition of Heemraden—Pioneering—Causes of Boer Exodus.

IN the mean time the Boers were beginning to migrate beyond the Orange River, and some of them had come into collision with the Griquas. A protracted drought afforded to many the pretext of going in search of pasturage. Serious complaints having reached me, mixed with charges of cruelty to certain Bushmen, I went myself and entered into the most minute investigations, which having been reported to the Government, may be searched for proof in how far I was disposed to be biassed either for or against Boer or Griqua. It was however self-evident that the whites were the trespassers, and I insisted upon all of them recrossing the boundary into the Colony. I remained to see the order carried out, which, as the river was flooded, was no easy matter where so many hundreds of men, women, and children, thousands of horses, cattle, and hundreds of thousands of sheep were to be brought over. Yet such was then still my personal influence that I was cheerfully obeyed to the letter.



The evidence taken by the Commissioner-General in his investigation of the state of matters beyond the Orange River is too voluminous to be inserted, but the following reports made to the Government reveal a most terrible condition of lawlessness and barbarism.

“Uitenhage, March 24, 1830.

“SIR,—Referring to my communication of the 27th ult., I beg leave to acquaint you that I crossed the Orange River on the 1st instant, and proceeded to Philippolis on the 2nd, where I found the principal Griquas of Dam Kok's party assembled. The next morning I had a public conference with them in the presence of the missionary Mr. Melville, and the Field-Cornets Esterhuizen, Van der Walt, Joubert and Kruger, of the Graaff Reinet district. I urgently desired that they should state every complaint they might have to make against the conduct of the migratory farmers, not only in behalf of themselves, but more particularly with reference to any the least attack upon, or injury to, the more defenceless native tribes, about whom I assured them the Government felt most anxiously solicitous.

“Notwithstanding my continued pressing, the Griquas were unanimous in declaring that they were not aware of any offence whatever committed by the Colonists against any other party beyond the Orange River but themselves, excepting a report brought to them by the Griqua named Knegt, purporting that the Bushmen having stolen some cattle from a party of farmers, had been pursued, and that an innocent man had been killed by the owners near the Caledon River Institution. (which case you are already in possession of as reported upon by Messrs. Kolbe and Clark, and transmitted by me from Graaff Reinet).

“Leaving this matter for future enquiry, I called upon the Griquas to state their own cases ; which, according to their own representations, turned out to be these, viz. :—

“1st.—Jager Boer (a Griqua) sent his cattle into the Bushman country beyond the Riet River, in charge of a Bootchooana herd. Some farmers being in the same vicinity, one of them named Hendrik Nieuwenhuizen, very improperly (in some dispute about the occupation of the same place) assaulted the Bootchooana herd, who went home to his employer’s residence to complain. Hans Witbooy (Jager Boer’s son-in-law) rode to the place and gave a beating to a Bushboy in the service of the aggressor (Nieuwenhuizen) by way of retaliation. The latter, coming to the assistance of his servant, struck Hans Witbooy and repeated the same conduct to the herd. Complaint was made to the Field-Cornet Oberholzer and Provisional Field-Cornet Scholtz, but what was done the Griquas never heard.

“I have called for a report of the Field-Cornet’s proceedings through the Civil Commissioner.

“2nd.—A farmer named Christoffel Duvinage sent to purchase water-melons from a Griqua named Fedrik Smit, and conceiving that he had not got enough for his money, sent a Bushwoman in the evening to fetch more out of Smit’s garden. The woman was seized by Smit, and brought to Duvinage, who then struck Smit.

“Field-Cornet Joubert being present informed me that the affair was reported to the Civil Commissioner, who directed him (the Field-Cornet) to enquire into the matter ; that Duvinage being informed of this, returned to the Colony of his own accord, admitting that he had struck Smit for falsely accusing him of having sent the woman to plunder his garden.

"3rd.—Sybrand Bronhorst had cruelly beaten a bastard Hottentot named Andries Pretorius, but both parties belong to the Colony, and had amicably settled the matter.

"4th.—The same Bronhorst had beaten a Griqua named Cupido so that his life was in danger. Field-Cornet Joubert refused to sanction an amicable settlement as long as Cupido's fate remained doubtful ; but as soon as the latter got better he settled the case with the aggressor of his own accord.

"5th.—A farmer named Grobler was accused of allowing his cattle to trespass on the lands occupied by the Griquas until the Field-Cornets interfered.

"6th.—Hendrik Badenhorst was stated to have regularly settled beyond the Orange River, and to be in the habit of repairing the firearms of the plundering Corannas.

"7th.—David de Koher was reported to have given the Coranna Jantje a musket in exchange for six oxen.

"8th.—Sybrand Bronhorst was charged with having supplied a party of Corannas, who were going on a plundering expedition against the Bootchooanas, with two muskets after they had been arrested, disarmed and punished by the Griquas.

"9th.—Christoffel Jacobsen was said to have supplied the marauding Coranna Chief, Abraham Kruger, with a large knapsack full of gunpowder.

"By my letter to the Civil Commissioner of Graaff Reinet, of which I subjoin a copy, His Excellency the Governor will perceive the notice I have taken of these charges, but I have in the meantime been so specific, merely to afford His Excellency a view of the sum total of the grievances about which the Griquas, according to their own account, have to complain, and having patiently listened to these, without being able to extort

one single admission of cruelties perpetrated against other natives, I laid before the chiefs the proofs I had of the barbarous conduct of the Griquas themselves towards the Bushmen and Bootchooanas.

"I had discovered that a kraal of Bushmen living among the migratory Boers, daily fed by, and assisting these people, being perfectly peaceable and, as the Boers say, without the slightest shadow of bad intention on their part, were attacked by a Commando of Griquas of Dam Kok's party, who killed fifteen, left two for dead badly wounded, and carried off the only survivors (three children), after offering them for sale to the farmers.

"The manner in which the women had been put to death is too awful to be here related. In another kraal fourteen were killed by a party of Griquas under the command of Kok's son-in-law, Hendrik Hendriks, and other outrages against the Bushmen were related, of which I have no proof.

"I had seen hundreds of Bootchooanas, who gave me the most heartrending accounts of their sufferings ; from opulent graziers and agriculturists, populous tribes have become hunters or servants to the Griquas, or the Colonists, and many acknowledge that they had from want lived upon the flesh of their countrymen who fell victims to starvation. Numerous hordes having been attacked by an army of Zoolas, fled from their country, and, coming in contact with the Griquas, were inhumanly plundered of what they had been able to carry with them in their flight, and the want of food caused infinitely more havoc than the weapons of their several enemies. At every step some unfortunate Bootchooana begged of me to get his cattle restored, which he still was obliged to see in possession of, and perhaps obliged to herd for the Griquas, often showing his back covered

by the most cruel marks of the sjambok, as the reward of his services under the plunderers of his tribe. I saw and spoke to a great many of these wretches who had got in among the migratory farmers from whom they had procured small flocks of sheep and goats in exchange for mats, baskets, or trifling services; they insisted on following the farmers into the Colony in great crowds for fear of being plundered and killed by the Griquas if left unprotected with property to excite the rapacity of so strong an enemy.

“When I pointed out to the Griquas the inhumanity of such proceedings they then only recollected that the farmers had not only molested themselves, but charged, 1st, the Field-Cornet Schalk Burger, 2nd, Hercules Visser, 3rd, Kootje Tafel, 4th, Sybrand Bronhorst, 5th, Theunis Botha, 6th, Johannes Strydom, 7th, Jan du Pré, and 8th, Willem Pretorius with having set them on to attack the Bushmen kraals who had committed murder and stolen horses; that the three first mentioned even supplied them with ammunition for the above purpose; that the 4th, 5th and 6th accompanied and assisted them in the attack on one of the kraals, and that the 7th took part in the attack on the other.

“My letter to the Civil Commissioners of Graaff Reinet directs an enquiry into these points, for if the accusations which the Griquas at first obstinately suppressed should only be founded on a desire to screen themselves with the guilt of the Colonists, it is but fair that these should be cleared, and should they be guilty of what they themselves call the most inhuman shedding of innocent blood, I should suggest (if no judicial cognizance can be taken thereof in the Colony,) that at least the one is not a proper subject to be continued as Field-Cornet, and none of them worthy of having those lands

granted to them near the Frontier which they may have applied for. Field-Cornet Burger came to me and said that he would not rest before the affair should be sifted to the bottom.

“The butchering and plundering Bootchooana tribes the Griquas admitted to be carried on to a frightful extent, but blamed the Corannas under Abraham Kruger and the Bergenars under Gerrit Goeyman. However the attack upon a tribe under the chief Gasapar, shooting great numbers of the people, carrying off their cattle, and leaving the survivors to starve, being particularly traced to Dam Kok’s party, they pleaded self-defence, declaring that the Coranna Chief Kruger had persuaded Gasapar to make a joint attack with himself upon the Griquas ; but this was entirely disproved by the facts that said tribe were not advancing, were very distant and peaceable ; that the Griquas were perfectly safe, covered by the Boers who were widely scattered over the country between the Griquas and said tribe without the least cause or apprehension of danger, and that said Coranna Kruger himself was perfectly peaceable, had made no movements ; but had come to the Field-Cornet Burger and offered to lend him horses, if he (the Field-Cornet) would go with him (Kruger) to see how many of the Blacks had been killed by the Griquas, and were dying of hunger.

“Whatever foundation there may be for these mutual charges, it is clear that the greatest and most inveterate jealousy exists between the Colonists and Griquas, about the possession or occupation of that part of the Bushman country, into which both parties have of late migrated.

“When I recrossed the Orange River into the Colony on the 5th instant, many families and flocks had done the same, and the remainder were doing so as fast as

they could ; but it is to be feared, that every season of drought will drive them to the same alternative as long as there remain vacant tracts to resort to.

“ If the country be reduced to what it was for the last two years, it is clear that there is no choice between flying to wherever there is grass, and seeing the last beast perish ;—but a systematic annual migration, to which our border inhabitants are so prone, is a lamentable drawback on their improvement, and by holding out to the rising generation an easy livelihood by hunting and breeding stock (though it be a bare existence) keeps them from entering upon more industrious and profitable pursuits ;—moreover (without wishing in such urgent extremities to shut the farmer out of uninhabited tracts as the only means of relief) it is extremely desirable that where the Griquas set themselves down, and cultivate the soil, they should be protected against wanton aggression, at least as far as it lies in our power ; for driving them from such locations, will be forcing them to adopt a marauding life, which will be fatal to the Colony as well as the black tribes ; whereas on the contrary, if their establishments peaceably extend, and social order gain a footing among them, hundreds of Hottentots who cannot be provided with land in the Colony will gradually migrate thither (as indeed many have already done) and, by gaining an interest in permanent residences, be easily made to abstain from depredations from a dread of Colonial interference.

“ Settlements upon such a principle, if properly regulated, could even be made to tend to the protection and improvement of the oppressed tribes ; but if the Griquas be allowed to possess themselves of the Bushman country on the north side of the Orange River, as the Colonists have done on the other, and we check further encroach-



ments on the part of the latter, without producing any other result than removing all restraint from the blood-thirsty barbarity which the former exercise against the people they dispossess, and their neighbours—I would then say that it were better to people the country in question by those on whom our laws, religion and feelings have some more influence, and that a civilized Government cannot tolerate at its very elbows, scenes so disgraceful to human nature, which it can so easily repress.

“I told the Griquas this, and Mr. Melville thought that the very idea would have a powerful influence in stimulating their industry and checking aggressions, for though the love of getting cattle and hunting is still uppermost, yet they have set their hearts on the springs and lands they occupy, and dread nothing so much as being dispossessed.

“On the 5th I visited the Caledon River Institution. I was anxious to ascertain the real merits of the case reported by the missionaries Kolbe and Clark, relative to the shooting of a Bushman.

“The gentlemen in so far explained their representation as to admit that, though the Bushman who lost his life was innocent of actually stealing the cattle, he was nevertheless sharing in the plunder, knowing how it had been got at, and that the individual who fired and killed him could not know that he was not the principal thief.

“Mr. Kolbe thought that the man might easily have been taken alive, which Mr. Clark disputed. These circumstances gave the matter a very different aspect to that which it bears in the report (as you will find on referring thereto), but what surprised me still more was that no proof could be brought forward that it was a

Colonist who fired, or that there was one with the party which pursued the robbers.

“Van Aswegen, the man named in the report, was present and challenged proof, and the Griquas named Knegt, whom I had been referred to at Philippolis, and whom I questioned on the 8th, said that he did not know who had shot the Bushman.

“The missionaries complain of the non-compliance of the Colonists with their engagement to provide the Bushmen of the Institution with stock, without which they have no means of subsistence. The Boers argue that they promised to contribute stock for the support of the Bushmen living peaceably under proper regulations ; and that they are plundered most of all by the people at the Institution itself, consisting principally of those who have left their service from mere wantonness. It is, I must say, an admitted fact that plunderers have repeatedly been pursued into this very Institution, and the Boers are led away by their feelings to blame the missionaries ; and Bushmen have been heard to say that ‘their preachers told them not to steal, but that if they must steal, it was safer to plunder the Boers than the Griquas, as the former were under the restraint of the law, and the latter would shoot them without mercy.’ This, of course, is a mere subterfuge of the plunderers, for I feel convinced that the missionaries do their best, but cannot prevent these depredations. Their situation is one of great difficulty, and they are, I dare say, no less sorry than convinced that they can do no good unless measures be adopted which are not in their power.

“I myself saw Bushmen who had lived at the Institution, and assured me that they had left it from fear that some day or other they would all be shot by a Commando, ‘because the people at the school had nothing to eat

and were incessantly plundering the Boors in spite of all the admonition of the missionaries.'

"To expect that the Boers will support such an Institution, or that civilization can thrive in such a state of society, betrays great ignorance of human nature.

"Some of the principal farmers have promised me to establish independent Bushman kraals upon their own lands, and give them stock to breed from under their own protection; but though this might be beneficial if generally adopted, I am not sanguine in my hopes of success, for the sort of labour the farmer wants is become so over-abundant by the immigration of so many blacks, who are glad to work hard for nothing but food, that the farmers are no longer anxious to have the Bushmen near them.

"Strong gangs of these savages have established themselves in the Stormbergen, and have for many months committed the most daring inroads into the Field-Cornetries of Brak River and Tarka, whence they have carried off great numbers of horses, as well as other property, as you have no doubt observed from the Civil Commissioner's returns; I have therefore been under the necessity of ordering armed parties from both those divisions, according to the orders of which I subjoin a translation seeing no possibility of establishing tranquillity on the Frontier without extending our protection to the peaceable hordes, but punishing severely those who attack us.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"A. STOCKENSTROM.

"The Honourable

"The Secretary to Government, &c."

Later in the year the investigations were resumed, and a further report made, as follows :—

“Graaff Reinet, August 4, 1830.

“SIR,—I reached the Tarka on the 19th ult., when the Field-Commandant Van Wyk reported to me that he considered that part of the Frontier by no means safe—that since the return of his late Commando, depredations had been renewed, and that the people on insulated farms were under great apprehension. Field-Cornet A. Pretorius, of Brakke River, stated that no less than seventy-one horses had been taken from his division during June last. I ordered said officers to cause the plundering gangs to be closely watched, and in case of emergency to act on my latest orders with reference to the same, copy of which I had the honour of transmitting to you in March last.

“Coming to Colesberg on the 23rd, I there found of the persons charged by the Griquas with various enormities—

“1. Sybrand Bronhorst,

“2. Theunis Botha,

“3. Hercules Jacobus Visser,

“4. Jacobus Dafel,

“5. Willem Pretorius,

“6. Christ. Jacobus and

“7. David de Koker, who had been there since the appointed day, the 15th.

“8. Field-Cornet S. Burger had been there and gone home from necessity, but met me on the 31st. Some of the above persons had come considerable distances for a second or third time to meet their accusers.

“9. Johannes Strydom,

“10. Jan du Pré, and

“11. Hendrik Badenhorst had not been found, having been called by their business to remote parts. Not one Griqua appeared. Field-Cornet Joubert, who had duly

warned Dam Kok, reported that the latter had said that one of his principal witnesses had gone to the salt pans, but that he would call him back and take care that all should be present on the day and place appointed. To me, however, Kok wrote a letter pleading that some of his witnesses could not be present, because the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Ryneveld, had put off the enquiry till August, which both that officer and Field-Cornet Joubert deny. Kok's evasion therefore added to the fact that when I was at Philippolis on the 3rd March last, he (Kok) and his people had pertinaciously persisted (notwithstanding my urgent and repeated questions) that only the Griquas, and no other native or set of natives, had been injured or molested by the migrating Boers, until the accusations of the latter against the Griquas were made known, when they charged their accusers as their accomplices—I say Kok's evasion, added to this fact, made me suspect the veracity of the Griquas who were concerned; but being determined either to convince Government and myself of the guilt or innocence of the accused Colonists, I scrupulously examined and cross-examined the witnesses which were produced, viz., Pieter Daniel du Pré, Jan du Pré (Hermann's son), Meindert Jacobus du Pré, and particularly the female Hottentot Leen and the Bushboy Witbooy.

“The accused parties declared that though they knew that they were not bound to give evidence against themselves, they were, nevertheless, ready to make voluntary oath, and submit to the same scrutiny. I therefore questioned them separately and minutely. Having thus heard one side, I considered the case of too much importance to the character of the Colonists and the safety of the Frontier to let the matter drop, and enquired whether there was a chance of finding any of the

natives beyond the Frontier who could give information on the subject. The Field-Cornet Joubert and Van der Walt, equally anxious with myself, offered to accompany me, as they did.

"Passing through Philippolis, I told Kok that I would still give him a chance to prove his charges if his witnesses should be then present on my return, telling him earnestly that I would insist on hearing them.

"About seventy miles beyond the Orange River, I found the Coranna Klaas, who had been on both Commandos by which the two Bushmen Kraals were destroyed. I tried him in various ways, but found him obstinately persist, that there was not one single Boer with either party, that he himself had been ordered on these Commandos by the Griqua Chiefs, and did not believe that the Bushmen had done any harm.

"Another Coranna named Gatoo informed me that his son, also named Klaas (then away far inland), had been on one of the said Commandos, had given him a full account of everything that happened, and how the party was composed, but had never mentioned that there was a Boer present, which he (Gatoo) considered too remarkable to have escaped Klaas if it had been the case.

"A Coranna Chief named Willem Smit, told me that the destruction of the Bushmen by the Griquas was everywhere talked of; that he had received several accounts thereof, from persons who had been engaged with the Commandos, but never heard that any Boer had in any way participated in the same.

"I found two kraals of Bushmen who knew perfectly well of the destruction of the two said kraals, which they said had been done by Commandos composed of Griquas and Corannas, but in whatever way I put the question they all persisted that they had not heard of

any Boer being with said Commando. Two Corannas, Abraham and Jan Kruger, gave the same information ; but as they appeared very much exasperated against the Griquas, I did not attach much weight to their declarations on this point.

“A Chief named Maletzana of a tribe of Bootchooanas, came to me in a most deplorable condition. He said he and Gassapon, a Chief of another tribe, had been driven from their country by the Matabele, or naked Kaffirs, that they joined the remnants of their people and stock, and still had abundance, when they were attacked by the Griquas of Dam Kok’s party, had 300 men killed and about 3,000 cattle’ and a large flock of goats, and sheep, taken, being all they had (except a few since carried off by the Griqua Chief Barend), which reduced them to starvation and obliged them to live upon the dead, and kill and eat the dying or the weak of their tribe. This Maletzana said to me: ‘I was once a great man, but I have now only about thirty men who, like myself, live on what the Coranna Chief Harb will give us. My people are scattered all over the country, the mothers eat their own children.’

“This may be exaggerated, but Kok does not deny it, excusing his aggression by saying that the two said Chiefs were coming to attack the Griquas, having been excited thereto by the Coranna Abraham Kruger, which is however clearly disproved, for Kruger declares that when he heard that the Griquas contemplated an attack on said Chiefs, he begged of Kok and Mr. Melville, the missionary, to come and see how peaceably those people lived, instead of which a Commando came. This I told Kok in Mr. Melville’s presence, and neither of them contradicted it. The Boers were migrating in that quarter at the same time, and scattered over the country in



single families without feeling or perceiving the least alarm. I tried to find out from this Bootchooana Chief whether the migrating Boers had molested any of the native tribes. He replied that he never heard of one single instance, and stated that there were now many of the blacks of several tribes, which had been plundered like his own, who now again possessed considerable flocks of goats which they had procured from those Boers in exchange for trifling articles or services, or in charity. Here I must add that I found many proofs of this. I made particular enquiry wherever I found a Bootchooana who could understand me, or where I could procure an Interpreter; the result invariably confirmed the above statement, and the complaints against the Griquas were heartrending.

“On the evening of the 29th, I again reached Philipopolis; all the material witnesses were present, why they were not produced at Coleberg therefore remains very suspicious. I heard every one of them, fourteen in number, separately in the presence of Mr. Melville, and another missionary lately arrived. When I shall be able to have the whole voluminous enquiry copied and forwarded, His Excellency the Governor will find it proved that two strong Bushman kraals—men, women and children—were butchered in the most awfully shocking manner by Commandos, consisting of Griquas and Corannas.

“The perpetrators say that one of those kraals had stolen two horses, and that the other had murdered four men in the service of Klaas Visser, and stolen horses and cattle. The Boers (even those charged as accomplices), Corannas and Bushmen, are unanimous in declaring that said kraals were perfectly peaceable. The Griquas say, that with one of said Commandos were Sybrand Bronhorst, Theunis Botha, and Johannes Stry-

dom, (some add a fourth) who assisted in the destruction of the Bushmen, because one of the two stolen horses belonged to Brónhorst, and that the second Commando was undertaken at the express desire of H. T. Visser, whose people had been murdered. That said Visser, Jacobus Dafel and Field-Cornet Burger supplied the Commando with ammunition, and that whilst this Commando was engaged in its bloody work, Jan du Pré, Piet's son, came up, seized a gun out of a Griqua's hands, and therewith killed one of the unhappy victims.

"When said copies shall reach you, His Excellency will find that the witnesses had concocted certain statements, to which they adhered in their most minute detail with the utmost exactness, but that by preventing communication between those which had given their evidence, and those which were to follow, I was enabled by the most simple cross-examination to plunge most of them into the most disgraceful labyrinth of prevarication and contradiction, so that, if the Boers be guilty, not one single point can be substantiated by the evidence of those Griquas.

"I left Philippolis on the morning of the 30th, after telling Kok that such conduct as had been proved against the Griquas, whether countenanced by Boers or not, would no longer be tolerated. He and his people had come to that part of the country, with the promise of co-operating with the Colonial Government in protecting and improving the natives, instead of which they are carrying on a war of extermination against the Bushmen, plundering the Corannas and Bootchooanas, so that these openly told me that hunger will soon drive them to plunder the Colonists, which many of the latter tribe already do in conjunction with the Bushmen, and which is the principal cause of increased depredations on

the Tarka and Brakke River Frontier. I left him (Kok) abruptly, telling him that he might persist and take the consequence.

"In the course of the investigation I discovered that two Bootchooanas, named September and Jonas, witnessed the destruction of the kraal in which Jan du Pré is said to have participated. As these people attach no particular abhorrence to such an act, I conceived that their statement would be simple and unbiassed. I therefore caused them to be procured, and sent to meet me on my road. I found them after re-crossing the Orange River. I was very cautious in questioning them; they both said that they saw Du Pré go up to the Griquas, and return without touching a gun, which fully confirmed the evidence of the female Hottentot Leens who says that Du Pré went to save some of the children if possible. I also found that a Hottentot named Jantje, in the service of Cornelis Visser, was present when the Commando of Griquas reached the places occupied by Dafel and Burger, from whom and whence they are said to have received the ammunition. This Jantje, I also caused to be sent to meet me. He declared that he saw the Commando reach and leave said places, saw both Dafel and Burger give the leader tobacco, but positively denied that any one of them got anything else, or had entered either the hut of Dafel, or the tent of Burger, in which, they said, they received the ammunition.

"In the midst of this detail of horror, I was relieved by two occurrences of an opposite nature, which elicited my warmest praise, and I think call for the marked notice of Government.

"A Bushman succeeded in escaping from the Griquas with six dangerous wounds, and hiding himself until the Commando had retired. Old Piet du Pré and his wife

(indigent people), at the request of Field-Cornet Burger, took this man, carried him about in their only wagon,—as they had to move with their flocks—and healed several of those wounds ; he however died after having been with this family two-and-twenty days. A woman also escaped with a gun-shot wound through her hips, and, after having crept several miles, was some days after found at death's door by Johannes Coetzee, emigrating under similar circumstances as Du Pré. She was taken up by this man and his wife, carried in their wagon, healed, and then delivered over to her friends, with a present of two sheep. As this happened when no enquiry was expected ever to follow, such conduct could only flow from the true and proper feeling, and will, I hope, for the sake of example, be duly appreciated.

“I intend to leave this for the Kaffir Frontier tomorrow.

“And have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“A. STOCKENSTROM.

“The Hon. Lt.-Col. T. Bell, C.B.,

“Secretary to Government, &c., Cape Town.”

This emigration of the Boers, I am sorry to say, once more produced a collision between Dr. Philip and myself, for whilst I was thus harassing myself to check the evil, he had been induced to believe and to complain to the Government that the encroachment on the Griquas was encouraged by the authorities, which could only apply to me, and which of course produced a very angry defence on my part, without however leaving, I am glad to say, any lasting animosity.

During my intercourse with the Boers on the above expedition the bad effects, which I had expected from

the destruction of the link which had so long existed between the Government and the governed, became to me very glaring. The most thinking and sensible of the old inhabitants, in their accustomed familiar intercourse with me, lamented despondingly the loss of those "Voorstanders van 't Volk" (leaders and defenders of the people) who always knew at least something of the views of the Rulers, and to whom the most ignorant of the people could apply for information or advice as to a Father, Brother, Uncle, or other friend—at least as to an *equal*. "Now," said some of the old leaders, "we have a Civil Commissioner to receive our money for Government and for Land Surveyors, a Magistrate to punish us, a clerk of the Peace to prosecute us, and get us into the Tronk, but no Heemraad to tell us whether things are right or wrong, when we can make neither head nor tail of them, for our oldest and wisest men know as little of the Government as we do. The fact is that many of us begin to think that the old Dutch Boer is no longer fit for this country. The Englishman is very learned, and we are very stupid. They and the Hottentots will squeeze us all out by degrees. We now return to the Colony because you desire it, but many will not stay long." The excitement on the slave question had not reached its subsequent pitch, because few of the Frontier farmers possessed any slaves, and because the emancipation and manner of compensation as afterwards settled were not foreseen.

That the old system of pioneering into new territory, to which the border Boers were so long accustomed, and by which the Colony had been gradually extended since its first establishment, was at the bottom of this emigration, cannot be questioned. The motives, which I have repeated above from the lips of the most

influential of my old followers, operated merely as additional spurs, aggravated by the evident desire to anticipate the Griquas in the possession of the land into which they were of late years crowding from the west.

I am thus specific because we shall soon find this so-called exodus—against which I had been contending since 1812 as Landdrost, against which I was now (in 1832) contending, and against which the Dutch and English Governments had contended for more than a century and a half—for the basest and most atrocious purposes attributed to the substitution of the Glenelg system, of Frontier defence for that of Sir B. D'Urban, whereas neither of these functionaries, much less their systems, had ever had the remotest connection with the Colony before 1834, as must be shown hereafter. Yet this impudent fabrication was adopted by one scribbler after another, whose labours lived quite as long as they deserved, and are long since in oblivion of course, with a degree of unblushing pertinacity which for a time deceived even some respectable men really desirous of knowing the truth.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1830-1831.

1830—Commando into Kaffraria—Commissioner-General's Report on Expedition—Murder of Zeko—Enquiry into same—Commissioner-General visits Chumie—Meets Chiefs—Tjalie complains of Cattle being taken—Makomo complains of Kaffir being shot—Chiefs complain of Colonists leaving Stock unguarded, and Cattle of innocent Kaffirs being taken—Proceeds to Kat River—Botman complains of seizure of sixty-three cattle—Outrage by Wynand Benzuidenhout—Commissioner-General, finding himself powerless, determines to resign—Water Trial, Graaff Reinet—Judge Menzies visits Kaga and Kat River—Kindness of Sir L. Cole—Menzies and the Theron Case—Hostility of Menzies—Menzies and Sir John Wylde—Pamphlet—Collision with Pringle—Church at Kaga—Adelaide—Road through Hottentots Holland Kloof—Road over French Hock.

WHEN I returned to the Eastern Frontier, I found the country clamorously complaining of Kaffir depredations, and the famous reprisal expedition of 1830 took place, in which the treacherous and cruel murder of the Chief Zeko and some of his people was perpetrated. As the Blue Books and other Colonial records are full of this disgraceful transaction I shall not trust to my memory for the details, but of no part of the Cape history in which I had to take any part am I so thoroughly ashamed. I was then no longer a mere leader of an armed force acting under the orders of a superior. I was the responsible political head—at least I ought to have insisted on being so, and as I was fully convinced of the injustice and impolicy of the reprisal system, it will be fairly deemed to have been my duty to resist it to the



utmost extent of my power. I feel it to be a paltry excuse to say that it was *the* system agreed and acted upon ever since 1817—that there was then apparent cause for its exercise ; that in order to prevent any but Colonial cattle from being brought out of Kaffraria, or any other wrong being done, I accompanied the expedition in person ; and that the Government approved of everything that was done.

The following minute and stringent order was issued by the Commissioner-General to the Burger forces :—

“As it will be permitted to every one on this Com-mando to turn out such cattle as are among the Kaffirs *and which he can swear to as having been stolen from the Colony*, I have to order you to make known to all under your direction, that in case of doubt, the oath will actually be imposed, and that, consequently, those who appropriate to themselves Kaffir cattle, expose themselves to be prosecuted as well for perjury as theft :—Kat River, 15th June, 1830.”

The history of the expedition itself in as far as it concerned the Commissioner-General will be best narrated by giving his report thereof, dated June 23rd, 1830, which is as follows :—

“Fort Beaufort, June 23, 1830.

“SIR,—As the military operations of the patrols which have just returned from Kaffirland will be reported by the officer commanding the Frontier, there only remains for me to acquaint you with the part which it became my duty to act.

“It having been ascertained that the Chiefs Zebeco, Zeko, Magoogoo, and Jejanic were principally concerned in the depredations committed on the Colony, to surprise the kraals of these men became the principal

object of the Commandant. Magoogoo was taken prisoner by the party under Captain Lowen, guided by the Kaffir Chief Conga, but his cattle had been driven off, and could not be overtaken. Jejanie had removed farther east some time ago; Zebeco had also fled in that direction. Zeko's kraals were surprised by the Burgers under the Provisional Field-Commandant Erasmus, and numbers of cattle taken from the Colony (some very lately) were found therein.

"Mr. Erasmus reports that when he had collected the cattle of the said kraals, and was proceeding with them to Fort Willshire, where the Colonial cattle were to be selected, he was furiously attacked by the Kaffirs led on by Zeko in person in a thick bush, the result of which was that this Chief and several of his people were killed.

"Chalé accompanied the party under Captain Aitchison, who has, however, informed the Commandant that he received no assistance from the Chief, but that on the contrary he (Captain Aitchison) had every reason to believe that Chalé tried to mislead and deceive him throughout.

"From every information I have been able to collect in Kaffirland, I am convinced that the accusations against Zeko, Magoogoo, Jejanie, and Zebeco were well founded, and the punishment of the former was justly merited.

"Great quantities of Kaffir cattle were necessarily brought with those recognised by the Colonists as stolen and sent out to Fort Willshire, principally the property of Zeko, but some claimed by Chalé. This man at first expressed himself very much displeased at the fate of Zeko, whose cause he espoused, and the cattle taken from whom he claimed as his due, but being asked how, under these circumstances, so many of the Colonial cattle were in those kraals, he replied that he had only now found

out the villany of Zeko and his people, and would forthwith punish the latter and deprive them of all they possess.

“I told him that it was not the intention of Government to let him profit by the depredations which he had, at least, connived at, if not encouraged, and that rather than leave Zeko’s cattle at his mercy I should detain them, and as it was evident that he would possess himself of the same if they were allowed to recross the Keiskamma I had no alternative but to do as I said.

“The farmers were anxious that their deficiencies should be made good upon the spot out of these cattle as far as they would go ; this I objected to for reasons often repeated, and because it was impossible to make a fair distribution without the returns, which are to be found in Graham’s Town only ; but as it is an object effectually to make examples of the kraals so clearly convicted of systematic plunder, and it would be very bad policy to enrich Chalé by such an acquisition, I ordered the cattle taken from Zeko’s kraals to be placed at the disposal of the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset upon the principles laid down in my letter to you of the 5th May 1829, and my suggestion to His Excellency the Governor of September last.

“I wish I could propose a punishment of a different nature for Magoogoo (who admits that the charges brought against his kraals are correct, and has no other excuse than that he cannot restrain his people) ; but, under existing circumstances, I could do no otherwise than cause him to be detained until His Excellency should decide on the subject, telling him at the same time that the cattle stolen by himself and people or an equivalent number, to be determined by Government, would be insisted on before his release.

"The proceedings of the late expedition, I am sorry to say, seem the only ones likely to check the Kaffirs. The punishment of two notorious leaders of robbers may bring others, as bad as themselves, to reason, decide those who are wavering in favour of tranquillity, and confirm the majority of the Chiefs in their present peaceable conduct, but I am not sanguine enough to predict a diminution in the loss of cattle by the farmers which they alone can bring about ;—for at the very time the force was in the field, when it might be expected those living so near the Frontier would be on their guard, the flocks were most of them as unprotected as if they were in the safest parts of the Colony.

"Enno, Kay, Makomo, Pato, and those under them remained perfectly quiet, and Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset and myself used every argument to convince them of the benefit of such conduct, which was particularly evident when the patrols passed through their kraals without exciting the least disturbance or alarm, but showing mutual good-will and kindness.

"From Mount Koke I wrote to the Reverend Mr. Kay, the missionary residing in Hinza's territory, requesting him to explain to that Chief the objects of the expedition, and to put him on his guard against those marauders of Magoogoo's party, and some kraals connected with them between the Buffalo and the Kay.

"To Chalé I communicated the highest displeasure on the part of Government, desired him forthwith to evacuate the Macazzana, which I told him would be cleared of Kaffirs by a patrol as soon as he shall have had a reasonable time to remove his people and their property.

"I have also deemed expedient to order a party of twenty men to be left on the Kat River, between Fort Beaufort and Fort Willshire for a short time to watch

any movements of parties of Kaffirs attempting to enter the Colony in that quarter.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ A. STOCKENSTROM.

“The Honourable

“ The Secretary to Government.”

In spite, however, (continues Sir Andries in his personal notes) of every warning and threat, the whole affair soon turned out to have been a most flagitious scramble, and what had been represented as a spirited defensive fight proved itself an unprovoked massacre. However dear-bought the experience, it completed my conviction of the utter impossibility of the very best of Governments preventing such a system from being abused to the most criminal purposes, and leading to exterminating wars, and I did not fail publicly to express my determination to put a stop to it.

Being determined to hear all parties as to the robberies and murder above referred to, I proceeded to the Chumie as soon as I was able, and met the Gaika Chiefs at Tjalie's kraal. I went completely unarmed, and took nobody with me except Mr. Hertzog, who happened to be in the Kat River, and volunteered to go with three or four Colonial witnesses, who were to be confronted with some of the Kaffirs who had been present at the death of Zeko. I found the barbarians extremely excited and irritated, but felt myself as safe as I had done on the same spot with my wife the year before. This was about the middle of 1831. After the enquiry above referred to, I entered into a lengthened discussion with the Chiefs and their Councillors, and succeeded in convincing them of the madness of hoping that they could ever again possess any part of the territory ceded by

Gaika in 1819 and 1820, particularly after Makomo's late disturbance, as well as of the danger of their losing the whole of their country by keeping the Frontier in a constant state of excitement and alarm. Some pathetic and eloquent speeches were made, setting forth the alleged wrongs of the Kaffir nation during a series of years, but concluded with the most solemn promises that the peace should be maintained, "if," said they, "you will only leave us what we have left, but we know that the white man will not let us sit still, as long as we have a foot of land or a fat cow." The Chiefs escorted us back into the Colony. My friend Hertzog, being a stranger, seeing the "savages" so fierce during the discussion, having expected that our small party would at any moment be annihilated, now expressed his delight at the result.

The Journal of the Commissioner-General contains the following account of this investigation :—

*New Port, Kat River, July 13, 1831.*—Having visited Chalé's kraal during the day, and not finding him at home, I was overtaken by him here. He stated that he had been busily engaged in recovering stolen horses from the Kaffirs, and had already sent a great number to Fort Beaufort. He next complained that last year the Kaffir Chief Zeko and six men were treacherously murdered, and one man dangerously wounded by the division of the Commando under provisional Field-Cornet Erasmus. Chalé says, "You told me that the Commando should only seize cattle which would be recognised as stolen from the Colony, and that no Kaffir cattle should be taken, and no Kaffir molested unless the Commando should meet with violence or resistance. I issued orders accordingly that no opposition should be offered to the Commando searching all the flocks. Zeko,

seeing that Erasmus's party seized all the cattle belonging to his kraals, asked him why he did so. Erasmus said he was ordered to do so, but told Zeko he might accompany his cattle to Fort Willshire and there demand them of you. Zeko, with Erasmus's permission, selected the milch cows to leave at the kraals. He and several Kaffirs were assisting in driving the cattle through a bush, when some Kaffirs on the adjacent hill shouted, the cattle made a rush, and the Burgers commenced an indiscriminate fire upon the Kaffirs in the midst of them. Zeko and six men fell dead on the spot, an eighth Kaffir was wounded, but has since recovered. All these Kaffirs were unarmed ; Erasmus had told them to leave their assagais behind, which they had done, only taking their kerries." Commissioner-General : " Did you see all this ? " " No, I was with the division under Captain. Aitchison ; but because you told me at Fort Willshire that the Kaffirs had attacked the Boers, and that you would seize the cattle taken from their kraals, I enquired, and found the case as I have stated." Commissioner-General : " Who are your informants ? " " Several Kaffirs who were present, and can be produced."

*July 14, 1831.*—Having reached the location of provisional Field-Cornet Groëpe, I was met by the Kaffir Chief Makomo, complaining of the murder of the Chief Zeko and his men, stating the whole affair, as had done the Chief Chalé yesterday evening, with this difference, that his informant did not tell him the exact number killed together with Zeko. Makomo moreover complains that lately one of his men has been shot by a patrol in search of cattle. Being questioned he says, " I was not present, and do not know the particulars." Commissioner-General : " You must enquire ; for if he either stole the cattle, or threw, or threatened to throw assagais



at the patrol, he could not expect to be otherwise treated."

Having discovered that the Hottentot Boesak accompanied Provisional Field-Cornet Erasmus on the Commando in question, I unexpectedly sent for him on the 16th July, and heard him at the Kaga as follows: "I live with the Provisional Field-Cornet Erasmus. I go with him as his servant on journeys."

(Q.) Were you with your master on the Commando last year when the Kaffir chief Zeko was shot?

(A.) Yes.

(Q.) State the particulars of his death?

(A.) The Commando which was led by my master came into a narrow kloof, where we found a great number of cattle; some Kaffirs made their appearance at a distance; one came to my master; my master asked him what Kaffirs those were at a distance, and whose cattle they were in the kloof with us. He said that it was Zeko, and that they were his cattle. My master then called Zeko to him. Zeko came, and asked my master why they took his cattle? My master said that he acted according to orders from the Commissioner-General and the Commandant, that he, Zeko, might come to those authorities, but that he would leave Zeko the poor milk cows; this my master ordered to be done, driving off the rest of the cattle. Zeko and his people followed the Commando and his cattle. My master then told these people to leave their assagais behind; they left them with some Kaffirs about as far in the rear as from this to yon corn-field (about 1000 yards); when we got to the thick thorns, one Kaffir jumped in among the cattle and gave a shout; the cattle burst back, and the Commando killed Zeko and his Kaffirs, who were helping us to drive the cattle.

(Q.) When these Kaffirs were shot, where were their assagais ?

(A.) Their assagais were then with the Kaffirs, who were then as far as the corn-field opposite ; the Kaffir who had jumped in among the cattle, and gave the shout, was also without assagais ; he had only a kerrie in his hand ; he was not shot ; they caught him, flogged him with sjamboks, and then my master ordered him to be let loose.

(Q.) Where was Zeko going when he was shot ?

(A.) He was helping us to drive on the cattle ; my master had told him to come to the Commissioner-General and the Commandant, to see whether he could get back the cattle ; but whether he was then intending to do so I cannot say.

(Q.) How many Kaffirs were shot besides Zeko ?

(A.) I don't know.

(Q.) Did you see any Kaffir throw an assagai at any of the Commando ?

(A.) No.

(Q.) Did you see a single one of the Kaffirs, who were helping the Commando to drive the cattle, or who accompanied the Commando when the Kaffirs were shot, with an assagai in his hand

(A.) No.

(Q.) What did the Kaffirs do, who were in the rear with the assagais, when Zeko and the other Kaffirs were shot ?

(A.) I could not see them ; we were in the thick horns.

(Q.) Did you see any assagais after the Kaffirs were shot ?

(A.) No.

(Q.) Did you hear any one say that the Kaffirs had thrown assagais ?

(A.) No.

*N.B.*—It is necessary to observe that the witness prevaricated repeatedly, and that with difficulty the above answers were procured, so that his statement must be received with much suspicion.

Saturday, July 16th, 1831.

Balfour, Kat River, 27th August, 1831.

Provisional-Field-Cornet C. J. Groepe, questioned, states :—

“ I was on the Commando last year, but not with the division which shot Zeko and his people. I was with Captain Aitchison’s party ; but Lodewyk Peffer, who was with the party under Erasmus, told me that the Kaffirs were innocently shot. Lately two Boers, Johannes van der Merwe and Geyo van Rooyen, were disputing on the subject in my house. Frans Siebrits, Peffer, another van der Merwe and myself, were present. Johannes van der Merwe said that he himself had begun by firing a loose charge among the cattle. Van Rooyen said : ‘ You did wrong ; nothing could be more unjust than the killing of the Kaffirs that day.’ Van der Merwe justified the act. He (van Rooyen) and Peffer agreed that the Kaffirs were unarmed.”

Peffer required to be present at Groepe’s residence this evening, and a message sent to Chalé to assemble as many chiefs as possible at his kraal next Monday, as well as such Kaffirs as were present when Zeko lost his life.

Lodewyk Peffer having appeared at Groepe’s this evening, August 27th, and being questioned, states :—

“ I was with the Commando under Erasmus last year ; heard Erasmus give Zeko leave to pick out the milch cows, and to accompany the cattle to Fort Willshire, provided he should leave his assagais behind ; saw Zeko and a number of Kaffirs among the Burgers driving the

cattle with nothing but kerries in their hands ; saw several of these unarmed Kaffirs shot by the Commando, when the cattle made a rush, in consequence of the shout of some Kaffirs at a distance ; cannot tell why these Kaffirs were shot ; did not hear Erasmus order the people to fire ; saw Zeko shot—at least, saw him run into a bush ; heard a shot in that direction, and immediately after Jan Grijsling came from thence, who said : ‘ I have shot the Chief.’ Zeko had on a pair of grey pantaloons under a tigerskin kaross. As soon as the firing commenced he wept bitterly, and cried out, ‘ Botman, no joke !’ I advised him to run into a bush near us. He did so ; but had hardly got into it when I heard the shot.”

Monday, August 29th. Chumie : Chalé’s kraal.

Present, the Chiefs Makomo, Chalé, Anta, Tichla, and several others.

Commissioner-General. “ You are aware that a Hottentot has again been murdered by Kaffirs in the Colony ? ”

Makomo. “ Yes ; and before you required it, we seized one of the murderers, and handed him over to you, with the cattle which he had stolen.”

Commissioner-General. “ I understood there was a second murderer, and unless he also be given up we must quarrel.”

Makomo. “ Every exertion is using to find him. I believe the reason why Botman is not here, is because he is engaged in that search.”

After much discussion on this point Chalé said there were three Kaffirs present who had been with Zeko when he was killed. One of these then stated the matter exactly as it had been originally reported to me by Chalé, with this difference—that “ as soon as the firing commenced, Zeko and the other Kaffirs tried to make their escape and were pursued and shot in their flight.”

Peffer again confirmed this statement ; but the Kaffir said that the man in the grey pantaloons was not Zeko, but was another Chief, who had succeeded in escaping unhurt.

Chalé then stated that of the forty-six cattle lately taken by the patrols from one of his kraals, only sixteen had been returned to him, and requested to have the remainder returned. He and Makomo also complain that one of their people was lately seized by a patrol, held down over an ant-hill and severely flogged. Makomo further states that the Kaffir who had lately been shot by a patrol had neither stolen cattle, nor thrown, nor threatened to throw an assagai at the patrol.

The Chiefs unanimously request that the Colonists may be made to take better care of their cattle ; that the cattle of innocent Kaffirs may no longer be taken away, as they feel convinced that all the murders and depredations are owing to the revenge, and want of those, who lose their property in this manner. They add that they always rejoice when they hear of Kaffir plunderers being shot in the Colony ; that they are always ready to give up those whom they can find out ; but complain that those whom they have delivered up invariably escape unpunished.

Kat River. Groepe's place. August 30th.

Plaatje, a Kaffir deputed by Botman, states that said Chief was prevented by sickness from being present at Chalé's kraal yesterday ; but sent this messenger to assure me that every effort would be used to find and deliver up the second murderer of the Hottentot of Van Rooyen. He, Botman, moreover, complains of the seizure of sixty-three cattle from his kraals, to indemnify Gerrit Schepers for alleged losses, and requests restitution.

September 2nd. Encamped on the Kat River at its junction with the Didima.

Gobooshe, a Kaffir, complains that Wynand Bezuidenhout came to his kraal about two years ago with a patrol under Field-Cornet Hans de Lange, and said that he had lost ten head of cattle, which he demanded from complainant. "I told the patrol that I knew nothing of the cattle; they stayed near my kraal that evening. I gave them a cow to kill for their consumption; next morning Bezuidenhout beat me cruelly with a sjambok, and afterwards with the butt-end of his gun, so that if De Lange had not interfered, I would have been killed. I was, however, left for dead, and the patrol took twenty-four oxen, and seven cows of mine in compensation for the ten cattle said to be lost by Bezuidenhout."

Bezuidenhout having been called said, "I lost ten cattle, and followed the spoor with the patrol under De Lange into complainant's kraal in company with the Chief Botman. I demanded my cattle from complainant because he could not show me that it went farther. (Complainant says this was impossible, as the whole country was full of spoor; if your cattle had not got beyond my kraal the patrol must have found them there.) We did sleep near complainant's kraal; he did give us a cow to kill: we did, next morning, take the cattle he mentions, because we perceived he was trying to hide his best cattle. I did not beat him with a sjambok, but struck him with the butt-end of my gun, because he stood before me with his assagais in his hands. We took the cattle to Fort Beaufort, where they were, two months afterwards, distributed. I got only my ten, one of which I had to give up, as it was claimed by another farmer."

Lodewyk Peffer says that he had been informed that

not complainant, but some of Zebeco's people had stolen Bezuidenhout's cattle. Bezuidenhout says that he had been told that complainant had hid his cattle under a precipice. Complainant says, "I did all I could to get Bezuidenhout's cattle from Zebeco's people, but could not succeed."

These extracts from the Commissioner-General's diary suffice to show somewhat minutely what the reprisal system was. On the very day that the Kaffir Chiefs escorted him and Mr. Hertzog from the Chumie into the Colony, after the interview with the Chief, as just narrated,

To my consternation, (says Sir Andries in his narrative,) on this very day I received a despatch from the Colonial Office, informing me that the Commandant of Kaffraria had been authorised by the Governor to enter Kaffirland with an armed force, calling upon me to supply the necessary Burger force, but significantly adding that my presence would not be required.

This immediately settled the question of my office in my own mind. The Governor's views of the powers of the military chief on the frontier might be perfectly correct, but then the Commissioner-Generalship was a fraud upon the public, to which I would not lend myself. As long as one single soldier could be moved with hostile intent, without my requisition or sanction, my political responsibility was a sham and hoax. What this precious expedition performed must be on record, and perhaps also what it cost; but the fruit with compound interest only came in some three or four years later. Being determined not to cavil against such men as the Governor and Secretary *unless the certainty of gaining a good public object made it a sacred duty, to which every personal consideration must be sacrificed*, I



should have completed the settlement of the ceded territory down to the mouth of the Keiskamma, if orders from Downing Street had not directed the Governor to suspend the process at the junction of the Fish and Kat.

I must now mention some matters which could not be allowed to interfere with the relation of the others above stated.

I have already given the origin and history of the water distribution of the town of Graaff Reinet, which worked to admiration until the beginning of 1830, when one of my quondam admirers happened to dream that he had discovered the vulnerable heel through which he might inflict a wound upon the "beau ideal" of a Landdrost, make himself popular as a sort of champion, and work a few rixdollars into his own pocket by simply refusing to pay interest upon the price of some Erven, which he had purchased upon the plea of the unfairness of the water distribution. Among those whom he drew into this vortex were some of the most respectable, upright men in the tow, and a few, who never ceased to count themselves among my best friends, sincerely, I believe. The case went against the Government, because all the functionaries being new the proper explanation was out of the question. The importance of the decision was enhanced by some remarks of the Judge (Menzies), who, as the matter stood before him, acted most conscientiously. As Landdrosts and Heemraden (particularly the former) were, as holders of private property, pecuniarily interested in the distribution, this result was by the clique looked upon as a wipe upon the "defiant President," and hailed as the death-blow to the Board's last meeting.

The Judge visited me at the Kaga on his way to the Frontier. He left his wife with mine, while he went

with me to the Kat River, of which he took the most minute inspection, and he made a most honest satisfactory report on the Hottentot settlement to the Government. On our journey he told me of the Graaff Reinet water question, gave his opinion frankly, and added, "I decided according to the evidence which was adduced, but the Civil Commissioner has appealed, and it now rests with the Attorney-General to see whether he can turn the tables in favour of the Government." This was expected on all sides, but not choosing to trust to official delays I at once exposed the true bearings of the transaction direct to the Colonial Office, and offered, instead of screening myself behind the late Board of Heemraden to submit to be held responsible in my individual capacity as Landdrost, instead of President of the joint body, urging in the strongest terms the minutest investigation, either by prosecuting the appeal, or by a Court of Enquiry, in order to prevent the public revenue being fleeced.

Neither Attorney-General nor Secretary would move in the matter, and when I ultimately spoke to the Governor about it, he, with that warmth of kindness which he invariably evinced towards me, put his hand on my shoulder, and having in his mind several subjects, which he thought were worrying me at the time, such as the Menzies squabble, my determination to resign and others, said: "Stockenstrom, you are mad: I have told Bell so, who is one of the best friends you have, though you do not think so, and he agrees with me. You pester and excite yourself about every trifle that comes in your way. You only make yourself miserable, and vex those who wish to see you comfortable. As to this water question in particular, I shall not lend myself to any step that can throw the responsibility on you.

When I was at Graaff Reinets these waterworks were shown to me as one of the greatest benefits which you had bestowed on the district after they had been in operation for several years, and I admire them very much. If now these same men want a better arrangement let them make it at their own expense, but it shall not cost you one farthing with my consent." A long and warm debate ensued in the above style, in which I was severely dissected, and which certainly proved Sir Lowry Cole to be one of the best-hearted men on earth, without convincing me. In the mean time the great body of the Graaff Reinets inhabitants protested against any change in the water distribution, and when the popular measure of the municipal system was to be introduced the same people refused to accept the boon for fear of "the old laws of Landdrost and Heemraden" being subverted—and they ultimately did accept only under the positive condition that the water distribution should remain in force, as I believe it does to the present day. Thus then ended in a miserable failure one of those dirty intrigues, the chief object of which was to have a cowardly left-handed blow at me, but the treasury was manœuvred out of a round sum of money.

I must now come to a very disagreeable subject, but cannot avoid it, as it involves public matter, which falls within the period of my notes, and as by denying the no less stupid than dastard charge of my "quarrelling with everybody" I bound myself to lay open those cases in which I really *did* quarrel, and here is one.

Mr. Justice Menzies is, I believe, admitted to have been one of the ablest lawyers that ever came to the Colony, but his strongest champion will not deny that he was arbitrary and vindictive, determined to be master

wherever he saw a chance of successful usurpation, so as at last to supersede a Governor and assume his functions, as shall be shown in the sequel.

I have already related how Mr. Menzies came with his lady to my house, and travelled with me to the Kat River. We parted on the best of terms. On his next circuit he again rested one night at my house, together with a friend and fellow traveller. As usual a Boer's horses had been ordered for him. These he transferred to his friend with the consent of the owner (one Theron), who received payment for hire. Some time after Theron came to me, grumbling that his horses had been galloped off their legs in an incredibly short time, and then sent adrift, so that he could get no account of them. I could have no possible motive for vexing the Judge, with whom I never had had any but the most cordial intercourse, and I pacified the complainant by telling him that he might be certain he would not be allowed to be a loser; but he soon returned, protesting that he could get no redress anywhere, that his horses had been ordered by the Government and ruined in its service, and that he was at last driven to apply to me, as the chief authority on the Frontier, to know whether he was bound to submit to the wrong. There was but one answer which any sane man in my position could give, and that he received, viz., that as a British subject he could not be without the means of redress, and that the courts of law were open to him if his case was as he stated it. Theron summoned either the Field-Cornet, or the Civil Commissioner, who had ordered his horses, before the Circuit Court, where Mr. Menzies again happened to preside.

From his peculiar position with respect to the case at issue, some scrupulous persons thought that it would

have been but decorous if the question had been postponed till next circuit, but Mr. Menzies gave judgment against the plaintiff, adding these dignified words, "You have to thank your legal adviser Captain Stockenstrom." The sequel of the affair was of a piece with the rest, but it did not concern me. Having seen by the newspapers the liberty taken with my name, I took care to have it conveyed to Mr. M. that I considered his conduct extremely impertinent. The Governor, hearing of this, sent for me, and told me that Mr. Menzies was going to apologise, when he that morning saw in the *Zuid Afrikaan* newspaper a virulent attack upon him with reference to the Theron case, and as he believed me accessory to that attack he would make no concession. I answered, "This aggravates the injury, and I have no alternative but to record my sentiments of the man's conduct on the public records." This I did in no very gentle terms by letter to the Colonial Office, where Mr. M. saw it. He became, of course, my irreconcilable enemy, and I must confess there was no love lost between us. I was, however, consoled by the prospect that we could not come into collision again, when the circumstance of my being on the eve of starting for England, led me, through Mr. D. Cloete, into connection with the awfully unfortunate case of Sir John Wylde, in which Mr. Menzies also figures.

Here I need say nothing more about it, than that the whole affair is fully related in my journals and letters already alluded to, as well as in a correspondence between Mr. Menzies and myself, published by both parties at the Cape in July 1840, on which it is only necessary to warn the reader that even my pamphlet is incomplete without the letter of the Attorney-General, Mr. Porter, which appeared in the *South African Com-*

*mercial Advertiser* of the same July, and which, as Sir George Napier, with his irresistible honesty observed, "clinched the final bolt," although I regret to add there was an unfortunate difference at the time between Sir George and Mr. Porter on the one side, and myself on the other. Love of truth and justice overweighed every other feeling with these gentlemen. Poor Sir John Wylde's private letters to me immediately after he became President of the Legislative Council, will prove his contrition very clearly.

The reproduction here of this pamphlet, and the other documents connected with this truly painful case as regards Sir John Wylde personally, and as regards the outrageous conduct of both Sir John Wylde and Mr. Menzies towards Sir Andries Stockenstrom regarding the same, would only serve to raise from the dead memories of events which it may be hoped are now entombed for ever in the Abyss where all things are forgotten. Suffice it that they can be produced should occasion require.

Shortly before withdrawing from the Commissioner-Generalship I got into collision with some of my best friends, viz., Mr. Thomas Pringle, then in England, and his party of settlers at the Cape. They had obtained a church to be built on the Baviaans River, to which I gave all the support in my power an excellent minister of the gospel had joined them from home. As the church was not easily accessible to many who wished to attend, it was proposed by Mr. Hart and others that I should give a piece of my own land for the erection of another place of worship more central and within the reach of the mass of the congregation. Supposing this to be the wish of all parties concerned I consented, but not without great reluctance, as I then still wished to preserve my Kaga estate for a private retreat, as far as possible away from

markets, churches, and crowds, and as I moreover, from the first, considered the site of the present Adelaide best adapted for the above purpose.

However, I was suddenly startled by a requisition from Downing Street calling upon me for my defence against a charge made by Mr. Thomas Pringle, upon information received from his relatives in Glen Lynden, that Mr. Hart and I had set our heads together to undermine the old church in order to increase the value of my estate by erecting a new one there. I need not say that I sent a bitter reply, which, if Mr. Pringle had not been a better Christian than I was, might have separated us for ever. I wish the correspondence could be erased from the public records, but there it is, and must remain a monument of another attack, and another escape. I will not call it another triumph.

Before taking leave of Sir Lowry Cole's administration, I may just allude to one or two public acts hitherto omitted, viz., the collision between the slave-holders and the Government, in which both parties were wrong, as the records of the old council show, and the construction of an excellent road through the Hottentots Holland Kloof. To judge by the enthusiastic admirers of Mr. Montagu it might be supposed that such a thing as a road had never been heard of in the Colony before his arrival as Colonial Secretary. He was an able man, and did his best to facilitate communication between the various tracts of country, but the most useful work of that nature ever undertaken in South Africa we owe to Sir L. Cole, Colonel Bell, and Major Michell, for which the Governor was censured by the authorities in Downing Street, who threatened to surcharge him with the expense incurred without imperial sanction. His Excellency, however, continued the work, which he considered of paramount



importance, and a number of the Colonists showed their sympathy with his firmness by pledging themselves in writing to hold him harmless in a pecuniary point of view, which was rendered unnecessary by the Colonial Office at home seeing its blunder. Nor ought the said admirers to have forgotten the magnificent work executed at a still earlier period over the French Hoek by Lord Charles Somerset, which, though it turned out not to have been bestowed on the most eligible locality, has nevertheless been of vast benefit to a proportion of the Colony, and was performed at a comparatively small expense. Historic justice forbids that such efforts for the public good should be consigned to oblivion, because the actors happened not to be the most popular of rulers. At least Hottentots Holland Kloof was as great and as bold a step in 1830, as the Railroad is in 1860, particularly if we bear in mind that at the former date a Governor could be capriciously surcharged in Downing Street in every extra expenditure for the most necessary public works.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1831-1834.

Commissioner-General visits Cape Town—Messrs. Hart and Onkruid prevent Boers from attacking Hottentots—Feelings towards Governor—Disgust with Administration—Leaves Colony—Voyage in the *Lord Hungerford*—St. Helena—Longwood—Off English Coast—Land at Weymouth—to Southampton—Cowes—Ryde—Portsmouth—London—Thomas Pringle—Buxton—Allen—Macaulay—"Will it pay?"—Bible and Missionary—Mock Philanthropy—England's dealings with other States—China—Japan—Progress of Emancipation Act through Parliament—General Views—Lord Caledon—Leave of Absence—Visits Holland—The Rhine—Ulm—Finds Aunt and Cousins—Switzerland—France—Paris—Back to London—Lord Caledon's great Kindness and Advice—Resigns as Commissioner-General—Retiring Allowance—Inadequate—Allowances to Others—Friends angry at Resignation—Travels *viâ* Ostend, Antwerp, Brussels, Cologne, Manheim, to Stuttgart—Introduced to King—Purchase of Saxon Sheep—Joseph Beck—Further Travels—Salzburg—Vienna—Schonbrunn—Hungary—Pesth—Buda—Prague—Dresden—Potsdam—Berlin—Start with Family for Sweden—Stockholm—Travels in Finland—Norway—Russia—St. Petersburg.

A DOMESTIC affliction (the death of his firstborn son and then only child) took me to Cape Town, and in my absence the Boers, being imposed upon by some of those whose only hope was in war, were made to believe that the Kat River Hottentots were going to attack the Colony. They assembled armed, and were advancing towards their supposed enemies, when my old friend Mr. Robert Hart, Senior, and Mr. Onkruid rushed forward to prevent the bloody conflict, but found the Boers already convinced that they were fools and dupes, whilst the credit of this gallantry was allotted to those, who

could by no possibility have acted in the matter before the bubble had burst. Of this serious affair I only heard as a Member of Council and not as Commissioner-General, which of course confirmed my view of the latter office.

“I believe that I have ever cherished that personal respect for the Governor and Secretary which would prevent my thinking or speaking of them otherwise than they deserved. The former, indeed, evinced the kindest feeling with reference to what he called my obstinate and erroneous sensitiveness on the subject of my official position ; but I leave to the candour of after times to judge whether I could, under the circumstances here detailed, have remained in office with credit and satisfaction to myself, or justice to the public ; and it would be uncandid to conceal that, when (after having proceeded once more to the frontier only to arrange my private affairs) I left the Colony on the 7th March, 1833, I departed with aggrieved and acrimonious feelings, and a thorough contempt for the whole system of Colonial administration.”

Sir Andries has already said that he left the Colony on March 7, 1833. His journal from this date to his arrival in London is written in Dutch. A few extracts, rendered however into English, will not be uninteresting, although, as usual with all translations, the exact meaning of each phrase is often very imperfectly rendered.

“March 7th. On Thursday afternoon at four o'clock, having bid adieu to our loved friends, we (*i.e.* Mrs. Stockenstrom and her baby of three months old, her brother, G. H. Maasdoorp, an elderly maidservant named ‘Alima,’ and myself) embarked in the East Indian merchantman, *Lord Hungerford*, commanded by Captain Farquharson, being accompanied on board by our father, two younger sisters, our esteemed friend, Mrs.

C. Berrange, the Messrs. Leemans, and some servants of the family, who wished to put off our separation as long as possible. However, they soon began to raise the anchor, so that the necessary parting came at last. It was, however, late in the evening before we got away, after having, in raising the anchor, nearly fouled the *Duke of Buccleugh*, which was lying too near us.

"As we passed the *Duke of Bedford*, which was lying at anchor, the sailors of both ships saluted each other with three hurrahs! and we soon had Robben Island behind us. About midnight the wind lulled, so that at day-break we were still in sight of Table Bay, and could once more cast a look towards the place, where we had left behind us all our dear friends and relatives. A strong south-westerly breeze soon deprived us of this melancholy satisfaction, and at noon on the 8th we were forty miles from the anchorage. We were all (with the exception of the baby) so dreadfully seasick that we took no notice of anything, except that at noon on the 9th we had made 216 miles.

"On Sunday the 10th, to our great satisfaction, at about ten o'clock, we heard the ship's company called together by the ringing of the bell, the passengers also assembling on the middle deck, when Divine Service was properly conducted, according to the ritual of the English Episcopal Church. The surgeon officiated as chaplain, and the common seamen behaved with proper reverence."

The Diary contains the names of the fellow-passengers, of the ship's officers, &c., and is full of all those events which in those days, when comparatively few crossed the ocean, excited the wonderment, or relieved the monotony of the voyage, such as the phosphorescence of the waves, the flying fish, meeting and speaking with passing vessels, difficulty with the crew, &c., which need not be here detailed. The arrival at St. Helena,

however, and the visit to Napoleon's tomb, may be here introduced.

"Wednesday, 20th March. At dawn of day we were in sight of St. Helena, and imagined that we saw great similarity between it and some parts of the coast of South Africa, particularly that between the mouth of the Bot River and False Bay. We could see in the distance the lawns and fir-trees of the Longwood property, so well known as the last residence and the place of Napoleon's death. We anchored at one o'clock, and immediately went ashore, for which the moderate price of one shilling each was paid, and the same again on returning. On this and similar occasions, we saw fully how liable we are to yield to those principles, which are well expressed by the proverb, 'Each one for himself, God for us all.' To be assisted first, to be the first to get the best accommodation, and the cheapest 'everything,' seemed to be the great object of each, and to such a degree that even the ordinary rules of civility were not strictly observed. It seemed as if one wished to begrudge the other the prospect of good vehicles to visit the grave of the—by so many narrow-minded people—still envied hero, for we find, even among those who fancy that they cannot look upon themselves as such, the greater part think themselves honoured by having visited that renowned spot.

"A delicate lady, who, by reason of her interesting condition, was prevented from enjoying this pleasure, was of opinion that it was not worthy of the attention of any sensible person, that Buonaparte 'richly deserved his fate, and ought to have been hanged!' We, however, differed from her so widely that we readily paid the enormous price of £3 12s. 6d. for the hire of an old vehicle with two miserable horses, and immediately set out.

An old pensioned sergeant admitted us inside the railings, within which in a still smaller enclosure a smooth stone, without inscription or name, covers the body. In this last railing there is left an opening, to afford to those who can find any satisfaction in so doing, the opportunity of trampling the conqueror under their feet, but although the loquacious sergeant told us that the permit signed by the local Major, which we had handed to him, allowed us to do so, as also to take away some cuttings of the willow tree growing over the grave, we felt no ambition for that sort of triumph, but availed ourselves of the last privilege, and took with us some cuttings to send to our friends at the Cape to be planted on our property. We also drank from the spring, which rises close by the grave, to which the-now-for-ever-quiet restless spirit was so attached."

From St. Helena we may pass on to the arrival off the English Coast, and quote as follows :—

"Saturday, 11th May. Calm and foggy weather, so that we made little progress, until in the afternoon of Sunday the 12th May, the weather cleared somewhat, and we saw land, which awakened within me feelings which it would be impossible to describe; this being the first European land seen by me, which from my youngest days I had so earnestly longed for. My fellow-voyagers were not less delighted, and the desire to land became so strong, that after many discussions and difficulties it was determined to take to the Pilot boat, and steer for the most accessible harbour. As the weather cleared we sighted more and more ships, among which, to the surprize of all, was found the *Mount Stuart Elphinstone*, which had left Table Bay fourteen days before us.

"Monday, 13th May. We could count fully 200 vessels around us, a telling proof of the vastness of England's commerce.

"About two o'clock in the afternoon we left the *Lord Hungerford* and landed about four o'clock at Weymouth, and had not much trouble in passing our baggage through the Custom House.

"Tuesday, 14th May. The passengers went in different directions, and we took our route through Dorchester, Wareham, Poole, Lymington and Lyndhurst to Southampton. Deer in the New Forest. Gypsies. Imposition of coachmen, porters, and waiters at Inns.

"Wednesday, 15th May. By steamboat to Cowes, Ryde and Portsmouth; in the afternoon visited the *Victory*, Nelson's ship in the battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Yacht, &c.

"Thursday, 16th May. Dockyards. Gun wharf. Armoury. Convicts. Beggars.

"Friday, 17th May. Journey to London, beggar children along the road, crowd in the streets; arrived at the Hotel 'La Belle Sauvage,' Ludgate Hill, where we stayed the night, because it was too late for such perfect strangers to look out for another lodging. Dreadfully tired as we were, to sleep was impossible; about fifty mail coaches from and to all parts of the Kingdom rendezvous here; so that the noise of the vehicles, the stamping of the horses, with their shod hoofs, on the paved streets and yards; the ringing of bells through the various parts of the building, the screaming and swearing of the coachmen, waiters, and *ladies of repute*, render a lengthened usage indispensable to rest, so that we hastened on Saturday the 18th to hire apartments in 35, Norfolk Street, and immediately moved into them."



From the Diary, however, which contains detailed accounts of the great exertions which he immediately made in the matter of Sir John Wylde, and to which no further allusion will now be made, we return to the Autobiography, and read—

However, I am now come to London, where I arrived about the middle of May, 1833.

As I have said before, I dare not trust to memory altogether, and must appeal to what I wrote at the time officially, as it will be seen in the Colonial Offices here and at the Cape, as well as amongst the Commissioner General's correspondence in the Lieutenant-Governor's Department, and *non-officially* in my voluminous private correspondence and journals deposited in Cape Town, and on my estates on the Frontier, whither they became scattered by our shiftings caused by Kaffir irruptions. Among the latter class of documents must still exist my letters from Germany and Sweden already quoted, with some written in this metropolis. I fear they are too much in harmony with the then state of my feelings to pass for very humble, deprecatory, or conciliatory at the present day ; but the facts will be found incontrovertible, and easily established by attainable proof, and the opinions consistent with what I have maintained throughout my public career.

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Extracts from these letters will be laid before the reader in the following chapter.

I had of course on my arrival to go through some "insolence of office," but not beyond what I expected, and I was hardly housed when Thomas Pringle found me out, and his truly benevolent spirit prevented our coolness lasting beyond a few minutes, when we became as cordial as ever. Through him I soon became personally, though not intimately, acquainted with Mr. Thomas

Fowell Buxton, William Allen, Zachariah Macaulay, and others of the philanthropic, missionary, and Quaker bodies, whose genuine piety, benevolence, and Christian spirit inspired me with that respect, veneration, and affection with which I have never ceased to think of them, and it is indeed delightful to reflect how numerous and powerful the men of the above stamp are in this happy country, who sincerely love justice and hate oppression; but it would at the same time be a serious mistake to take it for granted that these sentiments and principles are universal, and that even among those who nominally attach themselves to "religious and humane societies" there is not mixed up a great deal of that which cannot be more significantly and truly characterised than by a phrase, which once was considered a very vulgar sound to ears polite, but which of late years may often be heard whispered by the delicate lips of the fashionable part of the softer sex.

In fact, what I soon felt myself convinced of even then, when I for the first time found myself on European soil, and what so much experience has since confirmed, in the lamentable fact that with thousands upon thousands of our "hangers on" the "outsiders" the "Auxiliaries," of the said Societies, those who merely swell the lists of members, and with millions of the go-a-head Anglo-Saxon masses, the question is not, whether it is right or wrong, Christian or brutal, to kidnap the negroes, pack them like herrings in a tub, suffocate half during the middle passage, and build cities out of the remainder—I say, with the majority the question is not whether it is right or wrong, Christian or brutal, to plunder, massacre and exterminate the Irish Celt, the Red Indian, the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Hindoo, the Burman, the Chinaman, and the Japanese, but the simple question is "*will*

*it pay.*" If so, it must be the work of a beneficent providence !

The Bible and the Missionary must of course accompany our Divine crusade. Our names with our ten, or our hundred pounds attached will be found in the Alphabetical lists of contributions for the propagation of the sacred volume, provided each *ten* soon bring back its hundred ; but if the Bible and the Missionary stand in the way of this thousand per cent. return in tea and silk for Punjums and poison, or if they impede the acquisition of the land and stock of barbarians, towards the colonisation of our redundant population ; if, in short, they cannot promote the great work in progress of converting a nation of shopkeepers " into a nation of millionaires," a compound of opium and gunpowder will produce a much more efficient gospel for the purposes of our system of civilization.

Such is a great deal of the philanthropy, for want of which the *old* Cape Colonists have been so furiously denounced. The new lights which so often convert many of these men need, therefore, not surprise us. I have been of late repeatedly taunted with monomania by some quondam red hot " *Ami des Noirs*," for persisting in believing that Africa can be civilised before " the blacks shall be extinct," and I must confess that these experiences have prevented my ever having become a member of any one of the associations, whose principles, and numerous sincere consistent adherents, I almost idolise.

I shall be told I have no right hitherto to include Japan in the above list of devoted lands. At any rate, the first Anglo-Saxon move is already made. The semi-barbarians have been cajoled and frightened into a treaty, which we know they abominate, under the iniquitous pretext that no nation has the right to shut its gates against

English Christianity and civilisation,—English opium and cotton—nor to keep its gold out of the Englishman's pocket. The affectionate partings of the Plenipotentiaries was indeed supposed to have masked the highwayman's pistol, which extorted the purse, but we at least soon betrayed our idea of the reciprocity of advantages now so solemnly established by the operation depicted in the *Times* of the "February last (1860) upon *Official Consular Authority*," thus proving the true wisdom of that blessed doctrine that no people has the right to reject our loving advances, and to remain content with its obscurity and innocence, even when the knowledge of the history of our career of blood and rapine shall inspire them with nothing but horror for our superiority, and an all-absorbing wish never to hear of or see us.

I know how I shall be torn to pieces by the golden images which swarm over the land, and by their all-powerful champions, when these views shall transpire—half a column will be sufficient to extinguish me, like the unfortunate Captain of Engineers, who dared believe his eyes, and state what he saw; but I have never concealed that, however enthusiastically I love this country, its virtuous Sovereign, its happy constitution and laws, and its general national character, and however ready I should be to give my life in defence of these, I at the same time detest the stupid pride, the over-bearing insolence, the bloodthirsty rapacity, and the loathsome bravado of part of my fellow-subjects. Moreover, in proof of my not being solitary in my opinions on our system of dealing with weaker nations on the principle of the wolf and the lamb at the brook, so lately as last night, March 16, Mr. Bright, Sir John Pakington, and others, let out part of the truth, as Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone had done, when in Opposition, though they, the two latter,

now danced to a different tune of course. The long and short of it is that in another century both China and Japan will be exact authentic copies of Hindostan, unless the magnanimous, disinterested saviour of Italy, Savoy, and Nice shall succeed in reducing Europe to the state in which his uncle had it fifty years ago—and compel us to mind our Home Christianity and civilisation, and to leave a respite of breathing time to the East. That France and Russia, like cunning jackals, should follow in the wake of the Saxon Lions from both sides the Atlantic, to share in the offal of the victims of their more noisy go-a-head roarers, proves that they are apt scholars, without improving the moral character of our example.

However, I have jumped at once from 1833 to 1860, and have consequently to retrace the whole distance to return to my first intercourse with Mr. Buxton and his philanthropic friends. I candidly gave them my humble views on the questions of Slavery, Emancipation, Compensation, &c., but even if my arguments could have influenced men so long decided, the time for deliberation was gone, for the *Bill* was rapidly passing through the House. Our discussions on the subject of the Aborigines were most ample, of course. I said what I subsequently said to the committees of the House of Commons, and to the Government, and what I had said officially before, but I peremptorily refused to take any part in any movement against the Government.

Mr. Buxton did me no more than justice in his statement as chairman of one of the committees, as recorded on the Minutes. I told him that I was determined never to resume the functions of Commissioner General without the fullest power to put a stop to the military system in force on the frontier, which could not but lead to the most calamitous consequences, and end in the extermi-

nation of the blacks, and the utter demoralization of the whites ; but I added that there was scarcely a single Governor under whom I had served, towards whom I did not feel the most sincere respect and attachment.

I said that I believed these men to be as anxious as myself to get justice done, but that they were as powerless as I was against influences nearer home, which it would be folly to suppose that I could check, so that my only course seemed to be to record my sentiments in the Colonial Office, and retire to the land of my fathers, far removed from the scene of so much worry.

On the late changes in the system of the government of the Colony I could state nothing satisfactory. I considered the Commissioners of Enquiry as honourable, and as well-intentioned men as could possibly have been employed, but the abolition of the only shadow of popular representation outweighed every attempt at reform, which they certainly honestly contemplated, and from that moment I made up my mind to struggle for a constitution, though I often doubted our ripeness for so great a move ; but a pure despotism, upheld by an uncle at the Horse Guards and a nephew on the frontier, with plenty of patronage and promotion and a rich military chest, must, under the best men, degenerate into a prolific source of corruption, such as the most bungling Parliament could never rival.

My old patron and friend, the Earl of Caledon, having heard of my arrival, soon called with his Countess, and paid my wife and me attentions and kindness far above what we could justly have claimed. His Lordship, being aware of the circumstances under which I had left the Colony, insisted that at least I should "not act rashly." He advised my asking for an extension of leave of absence in order to have time to consider. This

I did, and on the 6th July I embarked for the Continent. Through Holland we crossed in every direction. In Leyden we left my brother-in-law, now Dr. Maasdorp, as he was there to pursue his studies. My party being thus reduced to my wife, baby, and servant, we proceeded by Nimwegen, Cleves, and Emmerich to Wesel, and so up the Rhine as far as Mainz, thence to Frankfort, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Heilbron, Stuttgart to Ulm, where I found my aunt, von Hoffmann, and her two sons, a captain and a lieutenant in the Wurtemberg army.

With these relations I left my party, and travelled through Switzerland, and entered France from Neuchatel by the Château du Jong, celebrated as the prison by treachery, and scene of the death by worse than murder of Toussaint L'Ouverture. By Besançon and Dole, and Dijon, &c., I reached Paris, and after seeing what most travellers see in that capital I returned to London, *viâ* Amiens, Calais, Dover, and Canterbury. I do not attempt to weary by a description of the towns and country through which I passed, and which by hundreds of book makers, wise and foolish, have become as familiar to the reading world as they are to me. I have derived incalculable advantage from my travels, but these notes show how little I am able to convey advantages to others.

I reached London about the middle of October, as the journals and letters already quoted must show. To these I must refer, for, though I must admit they were written under great excitement, I know that they contain nothing but the truth. They never were deemed of sufficient importance for publication; but I have invariably expressed the sentiments and opinions which they contain loudly and openly, either as a func-



tionary, a nominee councillor, a popular representative, or a private individual.

Perhaps I have in these papers recorded in detail the part taken by Lord Caledon in my proceedings at this time. At any rate, it may be well to state, as I do with regret, that his Lordship strongly disapproved of these proceedings; but he remained my friend to the last. He obtained for me from Mr. Hay introductions to the Swedish Ambassador in London, and the British Minister in Stockholm. He assured me he had reason to know there was nothing against me in the Colonial Office; that every Governor had hitherto reported favourably, and that consequently there could be no foundation for the irritation which was evident in my letters; and even when I was fairly out of office he asked me to dine on the 1st January, 1834, and after dinner got me into a corner, and repeated warmly what he had often said before. He admitted the justice of most of my motives, but insisted on his views in these words: "You ought to have gone on doing your duty in defiance of all vexation and opposition, and you must have triumphed in the end."

This was too much, and I could not help answering with equal warmth, "All this would have been very well for a man with your Lordship's powers, abilities, parliamentary and family interest, but for a humble, uninstructed, unpatronised colonist, who had never been out of South Africa, without one single friend possessed of the smallest degree of power, it would have been the height of presumption and quixotism to attempt to cope with the Horse Guards, and its nephew, the Commandant of Kaffraria, backed by their promotions, and John Bull's inexhaustible Treasury at their disposal. We have as fine and as brave an army at the Cape, and also as

respectable a civil and commercial community as can be found anywhere in the King's dominions, and many of these in their hearts, and loudly denounce our injustice ; but no one can deny that there are plenty of military hangers on, 'who are totally dependent upon the smiles and frowns of patronage ; and many non-military hangers on, gaspingly thirsty for the liquid which is ever ready to rush from that treasury, both parties hoping everything from patrols,' 'reprisals,' and such exploits with their inevitable consequences, war, and commissariat disgorgings, and fearing everything from that quiet progress and improvement, which peace and justice alone can ensure.

"These people know that I was determined that not a man should move a step across the frontier with hostile intent without my authority, and that the same principles of international law which bind this country in its dealings with civilised nations, should be observed towards the native African races as far as circumstances will allow. They consequently move heaven and earth to misrepresent me as the champion of the blacks and the enemy of the whites. It is true they only prevail with the ignorant and the wicked, but there are enough of these to back a clamour, unless I have the *power* to make right triumph. To keep on drawing a high salary, look on as a nonentity, or act as a fifth wheel in the wagon to be overloaded with the responsibility, when mischief comes, would be sheepish to a degree. They are quite right in calling me the most ambitious man in Africa, but it was not ambition to shine in the empty titles of Commissioner-General and Councillor, or in the still more empty popularity of the mob. It was an ambition to do my duty to my country ; and as the Colonial Office thinks this can be dispensed with, I prefer half starving

in Sweden on my pension and half-pay, to being Lord Fitzroy Somerset's Orderly at the Cape."

"These are strong reasons," rejoined his Lordship; "but you have not convinced me that perseverance would not have conquered all opposition. At any rate, one thing I wish you to promise me. This is a dangerous place for people to be in debt; if you run short, borrow money from no one but me." This was too much, and I am afraid I made a fool of myself, for even now when I think of this scene it brings tears to my eyes, although I never had occasion to avail myself of this paternal offer.

It is hardly worth while here dilating upon the steps taken at the Colonial Office, which ended in the retirement of the Commissioner-General by the abolition of the office, but he had reason to complain bitterly of the utter inadequacy of the pension now assigned him, and on this subject he says :

I had been five and twenty years in the service, had for near sixteen years been Landdrost of one of the most important districts of the Colony, and for six years Commissioner-General of the Eastern Province, in which my salary was eight hundred pounds and a house worth two hundred pounds per annum : consequently I was entitled by the established rules to a pension of seven-twelfths of eight hundred, if not of a thousand pounds, but Mr. Secretary Stanley, and Mr. Under-Secretary Stephen, and my Lords of the Treasury, thought three hundred pounds quite enough for a Cape-born Colonial functionary. This was atrocious enough ; but let us compare their decision to a case, when the claimant is no Dutchman, but an Englishman born, with friends at home, and in Parliament, and, as must be admitted, as worthy a gentleman as ever landed at the Cape. Mr. Kekewich, after serving as Puisne Judge for fifteen years upon a

salary of fifteen hundred pounds per annum, resigned, and at once fell into a snug berth of nine hundred and fifty pounds, three and one-sixth times as much as the Commissioner-General, who had served five and twenty years. Sir John Wylde had served as Chief Justice for thirty years, upon a salary of two thousand five hundred pounds, afterwards arbitrarily reduced to two thousand pounds; but when his pension had to be fixed he was found entitled only to something above *eleven hundred* pounds raised by the Cape Parliament, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the case. Now, my Lords, was there ever a more barefaced job than the Kekewich job? Your clerk may perhaps tell you that Mr. K— was several years in the service of England before he became a Puisne Judge, and that it was deemed convenient to make the Cape pay for these extra years. This only adds to the criminality of the case, and proves, as I have repeatedly said, that until your Lordships and your instruments can be dragged before a Court of Justice and a Jury, the Treasury must remain a focus of patronage and favouritism.

Pringle and his friends were equally annoyed at my retirement. I left them on the 25th January, 1834, and travelled by Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, Waterloo, Louvain, Liège, Aix la Chapelle, Cologne, Manheim, and Carlsruhe to Stuttgart, to which capital my family and relatives had removed during my absence. Volumes might be filled with the details of adventures and sights during my long journeys, but I have already confessed that I am not fit to be an author, and though I believe that I saw everything that was visible, I saw nothing that has not been seen by thousands, and described by hundreds before and after me. Anything uncommon that may come in my way shall be stated as

accurately as my memory will permit. Thus I may here mention that as we were travelling to see the world, and not rich enough to show ourselves, we did not provide ourselves with introductions to any of the British Embassies, except that in Sweden, where we were permanently to reside: we were consequently living very retired with my Cousin, then Major von Hoffmann, his mother, and brother, when the former one day surprised me by telling me that the King wished to see me—he, the Major, being rather a favorite at court, accidentally mentioned his birth-place (the Cape):—my name and presence in Stuttgardt came upon the carpet, when His Majesty expressed a wish to see and converse with so high a functionary from the Antipodes, and so near a relative of two of his officers. He desired that I should get myself presented by the Acting British Representative Mr. Wellsby, and when the Major replied that he knew I should feel highly honoured but that I was trying to be as private as possible, His Majesty said, then you bring him here at such an hour on such a day, and the Chamberlain on duty shall introduce him. This was done, and my audience lasted about an hour.

No man could have shown himself more perfectly the Gentleman, dignified without the slightest ostentation. He asked a number of questions about the climate, the various classes of the population, particularly the natives, and after politics came agriculture, in which he seemed theoretically well versed, and deeply interested. Having found that I was an extensive land and stock holder, he said, "So am I, I am the first farmer in Wurtemberg, and make it a point to have the best of all sorts of stock to supply my people with." When I observed that I intended sending sheep from Saxony to the Cape, he

said, "You get them here as well as in Saxony, or anywhere else. I shall order my Director to let you select Rams and Ewes out of my picked flock, and I shall be glad to hear of their doing good at the other end of the world."

In short I need not say that I was charmed with His Majesty,—took good care to get his sheep (I believe ten Rams and twenty Ewes) for a mere nominal price, and Joseph Beck, a shepherd, who was then a conscript, got his discharge by the king's order to take these sheep to my estate. He then had nothing but his clothes on his back, and a shepherd dog at his heels; and by dint of honest industry is now a rich respectable farmer in South Africa. He took the sheep down the Neckar and Rhine to Rotterdam, thence to London, and got to Algoa Bay, while the D'Urban war was raging. Drought and want of forage caused great loss, but those which arrived safe in Zwagers Hoek were the chief causes of the present value of my flocks:—thanks to William of Wurtemberg, poor Peter von Hoffmann, and Joseph Beck.

Towards the end of the month (March) I again separated myself from my family for a long trip. I once more passed through Ulm, and thence proceeded to Augsburg. My journals will be found to contain notes, which might be extended to any length by professional book-makers; but they would be mere repetition, except particular events, which I shall not fail to notice.

In Bavaria as in Wurtemberg there was a good deal of political excitement consequent on the late French and Belgian revolutions, so that in Munich the once ultra liberal poetic king had his prisons full of Radical professors and students. From the latter capital I went to Salzburg, and thence again crossed the Bavarian

boundary to Bertchtolsgaden, a small town in the Alps near one of the country residences of King Louis and the salt mines, excavated out of a mountain in which the Austrian or rather Salzburg people carry on the same work on the other side, so that the labourers of the two parties distinctly hear each other cutting through the salt rocks. The soil—that is the saline portion of it—being here brought forth out of the bowels of the mountain in a liquid state, requires to be conducted westward over ridges of some hundred feet high to a part of the neighbourhood where fuel is abundant, for the purpose of distillation. This object is obtained by an ingenious contrivance by Berchenbach, which was then new, and shown as a great curiosity, and by which the salt water was forced up the said hill by the force of a stream of cold water. I proceeded the same day to the Austrian or east side, and there entered the mine high up in the mountain, and after walking and creeping through and sliding down many of the shafts or excavations, at last reappeared in the outer world in the town of Hallein in the valley below, where the saline fluid issues forth, and where the salt manufactory is carried on.

In the evening I returned to Salzburg, and the next day continued my course to Vienna *via* Linz. In the Austrian capital I was soon warned to be cautious what political sentiments I should utter, particularly at the Table d'Hôte, where it was suspected the stranger was sure to meet some policeman in disguise. If I had at all been disposed to meddle with politics there seemed to be little opportunity for gratifying the desire, as the Viennese appeared to me to think of nothing but amusement, and there was something paradoxical in the fact that where there existed such a terror of politics,



the ruling powers lived above all fear, for the old Emperor, and the other members of his family were daily seen on foot in the public parks, such as the Prater, the Angarten, etc., mixing with and jostled by the crowd, as confident as any popular private individual.

Among the many sights I, of course, did not fail to visit the room in which Napoleon II. breathed his last at Schönbrunn, and to listen to the tittle-tattle then still current about him. As I had only the year before stood for an hour by his father's grave, and a few weeks before had seen Louis Philippe vociferously cheered in the Place Carrousel, the thoughts which crowded themselves upon me may be imagined, particularly when I add that this same afternoon I saw the Duchesse de Berri enter Vienna.

I had some difficulty in obtaining permission to travel into Hungary. The official who had to countersign my passport told me, "We care not who comes into Austria, for here we have the means of watching them ; but in Hungary there is no police, and of this circumstance the French propagandists have been taking every advantage since their last Revolution, and I should prefer your giving up the trip down the Danube." After a great deal of cross-questioning and official insolence on the part of the would-be great man, and some rebutting on mine, I gained the point, and travelled by land next day to Presbourg, where the Diet was sitting. I visited both the Houses, where all the members, except the clergy, were dressed in military uniforms, and long sabres ; but as nothing but Latin and Hungarian was allowed to be spoken, I can say nothing about the debate, except that the speakers seemed very much excited. After seeing in this ancient capital what strangers generally see, I proceeded down the Danube in the first steamer that

ever sailed on that river. On that occasion she went no further than Semlin. I remained in Pesth to be present at a great fair, where people from all parts of the Austrian dominions were to meet, and so they did; offering one of the most interesting sights of the whole of my extensive travels. There were besides Germans, Transylvanians, Slavonians, Wallachians, Moldavians and men and women from almost every part of Turkey in Europe, Bohemia, Poland, etc. etc., some as civilised as Western Europe could produce, and others far beneath the Kaffirs in appearance, manners, bodily habits, and ideas. In my journal kept at the time I have entered into further detail, but the whole has been often and better described by professed book-makers.

I say little of Buda (or Offen) and Pesth, which delighted me much, as I was also amused by the extraordinary fact that I, having a decent coat on my back, was allowed to cross over the bridge of boats, which connects the ancient and modern city, as often as I pleased scot free, whilst the poorer classes, peasants and others, not by dress appearing to belong to the middle or upper class, paid toll regularly.

Another law or custom of Hungary disgusted me, as it had done in my own native land in the earlier days of my career, when I had even to enforce it. This was the commanding of the agricultural cattle and horses of the farmers for public purposes upon insufficient payment, if any payment at all. But here the South African abuse was considerably improved upon. The merchants were entitled to the same assistance for the conveyance of their goods from the lower parts of the Danube against the current of that river. Four large barges, two leading and two following, a smaller one occupied by the supercargo or agent—heavy laden—chained together, might be seen

dragged along by some eighty or a hundred oxen, horses, or mules indiscriminately mixed, pushed forward by the merciless whips of their owners, who would run the risk of having the same stimulus applied to themselves if they tried to spare their poor beasts.

On asking an apparently very respectable Hungarian gentleman and fellow-passenger on board, "How is it possible that these people submit to all this?" he coolly shrugged his shoulders, saying "They don't feel it, they are accustomed to it"—the eels!

The first of May was, of course, a grand day in Vienna. Then from one to two hundred thousand men, women and children collected in "der Prater" to witness the foot-races; the sober, orderly conduct of this fearful mass without any armed military or police visible, the indiscriminate mixture and jostling of the Imperial family and the highest people in the land with the multitudes of from the first to the lowest classes, with other details, will be found in my journal, to which I must also refer for my progress through Prague, where I saw at mass in the Cathedral on the Hill the unfortunate Exile Charles the Tenth, with his nephew and niece, the Duke of Angoulême and his Duchess, the unfortunate daughter of the still more unfortunate Marie Antoinette, with the youthful legitimate Henry the Fifth.

Of the Nunnery in this city,—the only one which I found accessible to males throughout my travels—I have also spoken. From Prague it will be seen I proceeded to Dresden, diverging, however, from the high road to visit Hernhut, where my interviews with the Bishops at Bethelsdorp was very gratifying to me. I think I have been rather full in my account of the Saxon capital, not forgetting its galleries of pictures, its cabinets of coins and antiquities, its beautiful environs, the grandeur of the

church music, the Augustan Equestrian statue, the royal family at dinner in public, the Porcelain Manufactory at Meissen, the Book Establishment—and the Poniatowski Monument in Leipsic ; Luther's monument and tomb in Wittenberg ; Potsdam with its Sans-Souci, and relics of Frederick the Great; its monuments of the Queen, victim of Napoleon the Great, and Spandau in the distance. There will also be seen something about Berlin, its grand Military Review, its monument in memory of the Liberation, its Museum (Lichtenstein still Director), with other institutions of a similar character. Charlottenberg was visited of course, and well worth the trouble.

I was in hopes of meeting my wife at Cassel on our road to Sweden, and therefore proceeded by Halle, where the unfortunate Gustavus the Fourth was residing and often seen at the ordinary hotels. From Halle by diligence *viâ* Weimar, Erfurt and Gotha, with too much rapidity for observation, and finding no wife at Cassel had to return with equal haste by Frankfort, the Bergstrasse, etc., to Stuttgart. Here I found my domestic circle well, and having purchased a convenient travelling carriage, we went posting it along the Rhine to Dusseldorf, diverging only to Wiesbaden and Ems, whence we visited the missionaries and manufactories of Eberfeldt, and continued by Hamm, Bielefeldt, Minden, to Hanover. We saw what we could, which in so hurried a visit is not much, of course, and by Celle we reached Hamburg. The interest which attaches to this city is, of course, very considerable, but it has its reporters in proportion ; so there was nothing now for me to add. We visited Altona, slept in Kiel, and thence went by steamer to Copenhagen.

Here indeed commenced a foretaste of the feelings which were excited by everything that I saw in the land of my fathers. My journey to and stay in Stockholm.

My meeting some Stockenstroms and other friends. My travels through Finland, Russia and Norway in company with Colonel Campbell of the Bombay Artillery. My dangerous fever in St. Petersburg, whilst my wife was in the midst of hundreds of the dying every day of cholera in the Swedish capital. The opening of the Column in honour of Alexander opposite the Winter Palace in the midst of 130,000 troops: my subsequent trip towards Lapland with my wife, child and nurse. News of the Kaffir war: of Stoll's death: the desire of my friends that I should succeed him: my refusal: my summons as a witness before a committee of the House of Commons:—Journey to London—Journey back,—birth of my second daughter:—but here I find myself completely done for. I can neither sit up nor write except with great pain, and it seems decided that I must go to a milder climate or die. I must therefore refer you on the above points to my journals and notes packed up at the Cape. My correspondence from Germany, and that with the Colonial Office in Cape Town and Downing Street, will be found to contain material enough, unless I shall ever again be able to resume this thread.

The Autobiographical notes, here so abruptly terminated, were resumed by Sir Andries in 1858. In 1861 he made some further additions thereto, and in 1862–3 made a sort of compendium of the whole, with a few further details. All these notes are, like the preceding ones, very incomplete without constant reference to official correspondence, to Blue Books, and various records, the publication of which in anything like a complete form would fill many volumes.

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1. Princip

213 Principles

232 89 VS Stockinets

245 Training

